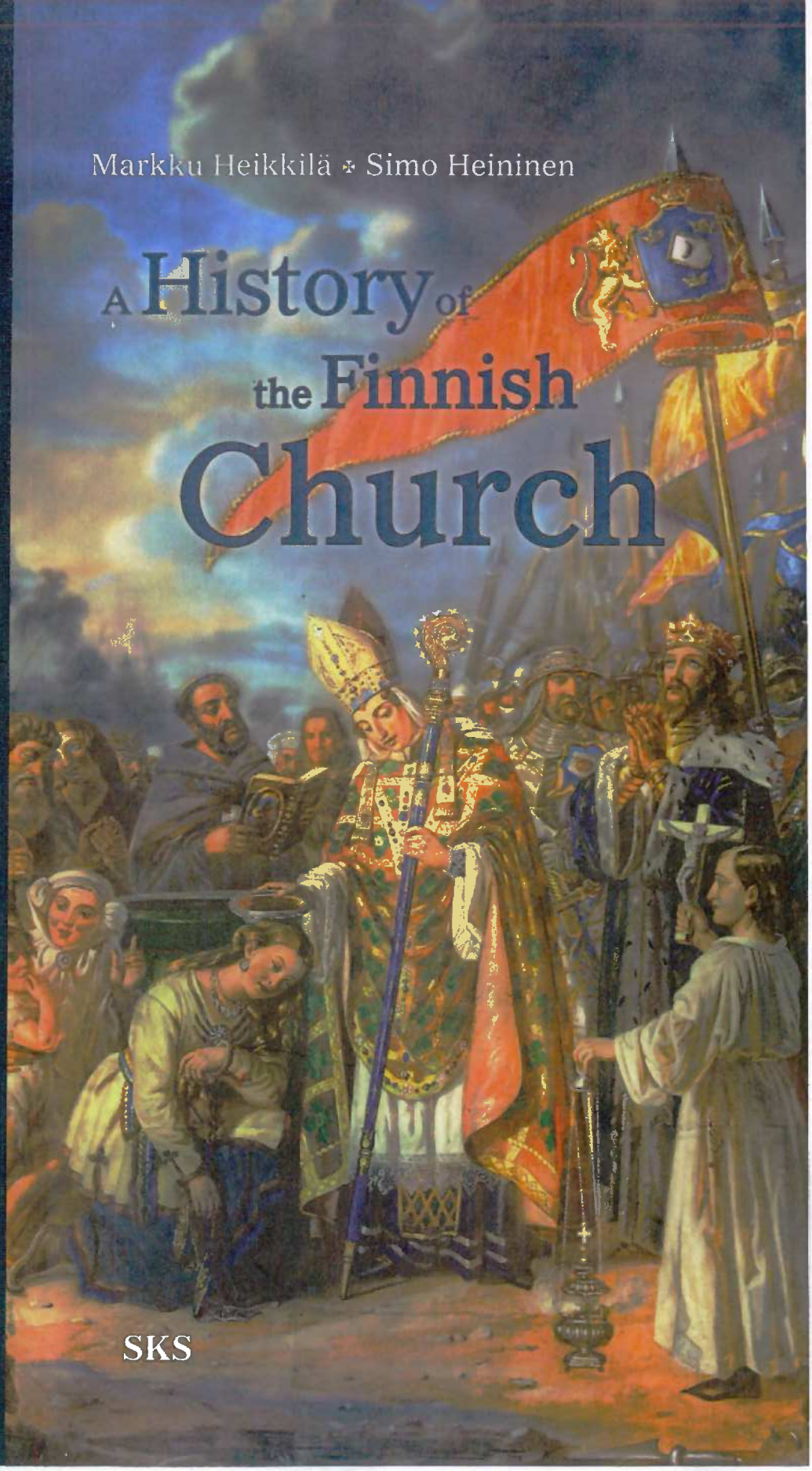
Markku Heikkilä ✣ Simo Heininen

A History of the Finnish Church



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Markku Heikkilä ✠ Simo Heininen

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Bishop Henry baptising the Finns. Fresco by R. W. Ekman, in the choir of Turku Cathedral (1853).
Photo: Arto Kuorikoski

Preface

This is the first history of the church in Finland intended for a wide international readership, starting from the arrival of Christianity in Finland at the end of the first millennium and continuing up to the present day. The work is based on recent research, but is written in a clear and engaging style, without the use of footnotes and specialist terminology. Funding support from the Finnish Association of Non-Fiction Writers, Arts Promotion Centre Finland and the University of Helsinki is gratefully acknowledged.

Helsinki, 1 August 2016
Markku Heikkilä and Simo Heininen

1

The implantation of Christianity in the period up to 1300

Christianity's arrival in Finland

'How and when did the people of this Finland [Finland Proper] region become Christian?', asked Michael Agricola, the leading figure of the Finnish Reformation, in the preface to his translation of the New Testament in 1548. He then continued:

> The answer to this question is briefly as follows: in 1150, Saint Eric, King of Sweden, formed a plan to spread the Christian faith into the Finnish region. He set off for Finland with a large company of soldiers, taking with him Saint Henry, Bishop of Uppsala. After winning on the field of battle, he ordered that the word of God be preached to the Finnish people. On returning home, he left Henry here as bishop, and to preach the word of God, but just two years later he was killed. This was how the people of Finland became Christian.

> In 1248, Earl Birger, as the commander of another large company of soldiers, conquered the people of Häme [Tavastia] and harried and pestered them until they agreed to be baptised as Christians. Those who did so were allowed to live and keep their assets, but those who did not were given no rest until they had accepted the faith. So it was that the Häme people became Christian.
>
> In 1293, the Swedish marshal Tyrgils gathered a large body of fighting men and sent them into Karelia, for the Karelians had continued to cause problems in Finland and Tavastia, and actually done great harm to the Christians. The Swedish soldiers now conquered the Karelians and built a castle at Viipuri [Vyborg] to keep the Karelians and Russians under control. In this way the Karelians too became Christians.

According to this narrative, then, Finland was incorporated in the Catholic Church and brought under Swedish rule by force, in three phases. This was the view held in the Middle Ages, and still for a long time after Agricola. There is some historical basis for this 'conquest' theory, in that in the latter part of the pagan era there were indeed three distinct inhabited regions in Finland. It is also true that Christianity arrived from the West, and that its victory marked Finland's incorporation in a union with Sweden.

Subsequent research has however refuted the conquest theory, concluding rather than Finland was incorporated in Christendom gradually and peacefully. The first symbols of Christian belief have been found in burial sites that can be dated as early as the sixth century, although the mere presence of pendants in the form of a cross and images of the Virgin Mary provides no indication of what these symbols were felt to represent. Changes in burial practices can however be seen as denoting the adoption of the new religion. In Finland Proper, Satakunta and Tavastia, a transition from cremation to burial occurred over a period that

Pendants in the form of a cross are found at burial sites from the 11th century. These crosses, part of the 'Halikko treasure', date from the 12th century.
Photo: Esa Suominen / Museovirasto

can be put at around 1000 to 1200, marking a break with a centuries-old tradition. The traditional Christian orientation of graves became the norm, with the body's head laid to the west, facing east towards the rising sun, as a symbol of the returning Christ.

In the background to the adoption of Christianity lay the efforts of missionaries sent to the northern lands from the British Isles and continental Europe from as early as the ninth century. A Benedictine

monk named Ansgar, sent by the diocese of Hamburg-Bremen, first arrived at Birka in Sweden in 829. In Scandinavia the advent of the new religion went hand in hand with the establishment of kingdoms, which overcame long-standing structures based on local communities. The victory of the new regime was far from being a matter of course. Three kingdoms all had monarchs who died a martyr's death in spreading the Christian faith and their own royal power. In Norway, Saint Olav fell at the battle of Stiklestad in 1030, Saint Canute of Denmark was murdered in Odense in 1086, and the same fate befell the Swedish Saint Eric in Uppsala in 1160. The process of the church's formation as an organisational structure can be seen in the foundation of the archiepiscopal sees of Lund in 1104, Trondheim in 1153 and Uppsala in 1164.

As elsewhere in the missionary areas, the Christian faith diffused downwards from the upper strata of society. The first adherents were local nobles, who also built the first churches on their own estates. These were small private churches, true to the pattern observed elsewhere in Europe. Traces of one of these churches have been found, but otherwise they have completely disappeared.

The missionary period was followed by the church's establishment as an organised entity: a network of parishes and diocese structures was created, churches were constructed, and a taxation system was put in place. It was during this phase that the campaigns of King Eric and Bishop Henry took place in the 1150s.

✠ *Henry as bishop and martyr*

Saint Henry is the first name on the list of bishops of Turku in Paulus Juusten's Chronicle of Bishops:

> Saint Henry, originally from Britain, that is England. He was previously bishop of Uppsala (the fourth to hold that office) before that cathedral was elevated to the status of an archiepiscopal see. Two years later he went with Saint Eric to Finland to convert the people of that region from paganism, to make them acknowledge and serve the true God, but the following year he himself died a martyr's death. This happened in the year of our Lord 1150. A legend well known to the Finns describes why he died a martyr's death.

The legend Juusten refers to originates from around 1300. It relates the crusade of Saint (and King) Eric, and Henry, Bishop of Uppsala:

> Since the ignorant and savage people of Finland were at that time causing great problems for the inhabitants of Sweden, Saint Eric, the king, gathered a company of soldiers, and taking Henry, from the cathedral of Uppsala, with him as help and support, embarked on a military campaign against the enemy, in the name of Christ and his own people. When the enemy had been successfully forced to embrace the Christian faith and submit to the king's rule, and a great many of them had been baptised, with churches having been established in their neighbourhood, Eric returned to Sweden as a glorious victor.

According to the legend, Henry remained in Finland to 'quicken the new plant of the Christian faith with the dew of the divine teachings'. But when he tried to apply church discipline to a murderer, the latter attacked and cruelly killed him.

The legend then moves on to describing the miracles that occurred after the bishop's death, of which there were nine in all. All were healings except one, where seal-hunters in Kokemäki were caught in a storm at sea, but were saved by calling Henry to their aid. Three of the mira-

cles occurred in Finland Proper, four in Satakunta, and one in Sweden; one cannot be placed at any particular location.

A ballad on the death of Bishop Henry, written in Finnish in Kalevala meter, has been recorded only in the modern era, but its original version may date from as early as the late 13th century. The author would appear to have been a priest who was well versed in folk poetry and its techniques. The ballad tells a more detailed and colourful story than the legend. It names people and places, and also differs from the legend in the motivation cited for the murder. According to the ballad, the bishop with his retinue drove on sledges up to the farmhouse on the estate of Lalli and demanded hospitality, but paid the expected fee.

But when the owner returned, the lady of the house told him that the bishop had taken hospitality by force. Enraged at this, Lalli pursued the bishop on skis and killed him on the ice of Lake Köyliönjärvi. The bishop's servant then fulfilled his master's dying wish: Henry's body was placed on a sledge drawn by two oxen, and buried at Nousiainen, where the beasts had pulled up, exhausted. A church was built to mark the site.

A local tradition in northern Finland Proper and Satakunta, dating back to the Middle Ages, provides further information on the historical Bishop Henry, recording in particular the places where he preached. A granary preserved at Kokemäki was from early times venerated as the place of Henry's last overnight stay, and where he preached his last sermon. It is difficult to assign a date to this tradition, however, and its reliability is similarly difficult to establish.

The death of the missionary bishop marked the birth of a saint. Saint Henry's memory is celebrated not once, but twice a year in Finland: on 20 January as the day of his death, and on 18 June, as *translatio Henrici*, the day in the jubilee year of 1300 on which the saint's

relics were transferred to Turku cathedral, which had been consecrated the previous day. Along with 18 June as the summer feast day of Saint Henry, the day before, 17 June, was also celebrated as *dedicatio ecclesiae Aboensis*, i.e. the commemoration of the cathedral's consecration. The people and clergy also gathered in Turku in large numbers for both St Henry's mass days, when fairs would also be held.

The cult of Saint Henry started in Nousiainen, Finland's first diocesan centre, where it continued even after the translation of his relics. (In fact, it is likely that only the head and arms were transferred to Turku.) Bishop Johannes Petri ordered the decoration of the grave in Nousiainen, and bishop Magnus Olai commissioned a copper-plated sarcophagus from Flanders.

Along with Turku cathedral and the church in Nousiainen, the church of Pyhtää in eastern Nyland is also dedicated to Saint Henry. There are almost thirty known works of art portraying the saint in Finland, most from the last century of the Middle Ages. Pilgrimages were made to Turku and Nousiainen, and also Köyliö, where a chapel had been erected at the place of the martyred bishop's murder. Johannes Messenius reports that in his time – the early 17th century – people gathered there to hold markets and curse Lalli.

Researchers have had difficulty in disentangling the historical core of fact from the web of pious tales woven about the figure of Saint Henry. There is no reason for doubt regarding the crusade itself or his death as a martyr. The crusade probably took place in 1155 in south-western Finland, although the exact location is not known. It was not however the kind of military conquest portrayed in the legend. King Eric was accompanied by only a small group of soldiers, providing the basis, at best, for a loose alliance with the Swedish Crown. Bishop Henry came not to preach the new doctrine or baptise the heathen, but to organise

the life of the church. And Lalli was not a 'vile pagan'; in fact, both he and his wife already had Christian names.

The ecclesiastical legend talks of the bishop's enforcement of church discipline, whereas according to the folk ballad the cause of the bloodshed was the bishop's demand for hospitality. Both the legend and the folk ballad describe pagan reactions, of the kind frequently seen in missionary areas in the Middle Ages. The inhabitants accepted the new faith, but it took some time for them to absorb its real significance. The new religion brought with it some unfamiliar legal concepts, and required them to renounce such longstanding customs as blood feuds, keeping slaves and abandoning children. The building of priest's residences and churches and the financial support of bishops and priests also placed new burdens on the people. And indeed, according to the folk ballad the reason for Lalli's indignation was the hated Swedish hospitality tax (*ruokaruotsi*). ✠

The church becomes organised

A free church had to be able to elect its own leader. According to Juusten's chronicle, in the time of Catillus, the third of the 'chancellor bishops', the 'first cathedral chapter was established at the church of Koroinen in 1276'. It convened for the first time for the bishop's elections in 1286. Their choice was Johannes, prior of the Sigtuna Dominican convent, who just four years later was promoted as Archbishop of Uppsala. The election of the next bishop took place in the sacristy of the new cathedral, which was then under construction. He was Finnish-born, and a member of the cathedral chapter.

The first priests were foreigners, and most appear to have been Benedictine monks. The first parish priest known to us by name was Pietari Kaukovalta, who is known to have been with German crusaders baptising Estonians at the beginning of the 13th century. The priests of the missionary period were trained abroad, but already by end of the 13th century the Finns succeeded in setting up their own cathedral school in Turku.

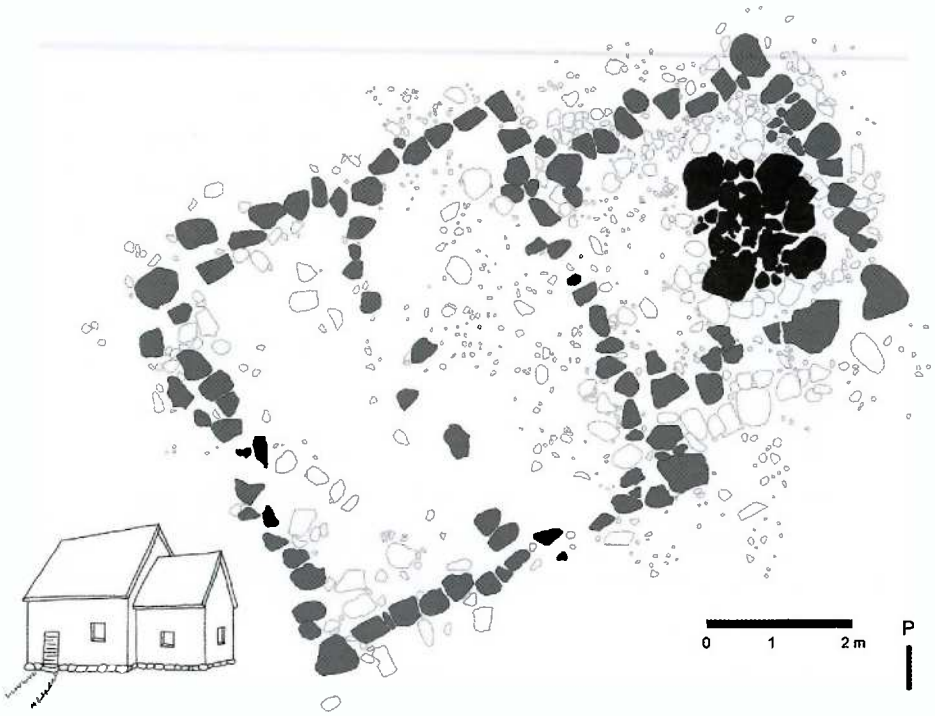
The preachers of the missionary period were reluctant to accept the priestly ascetic ideal. A folk ballad tells the story of a young maid named Kirsti:

She set off for to church
With pretty lips and head of hair
Preening herself along the way.

But there, Riiko's strapping son,
The handsome priest from Kaleva
Preached the sermon in his high boots
And said the mass with his sword by his side.

Having had his say from the pulpit
He sought a woman for his pains
And cast his eye upon her
Winking and smirking before her face
And stamping his foot behind.

The celibacy requirement became established in the Turku diocese only in the Late Middle Ages, but there were frequent breaches of the rule.



Reconstruction of the Ristimäki church in Ravattula.
Photo: Juha Ruohonen / Ravattulan Ristimäki -hanke

As in other missionary districts, the first churches were private churches, which local magnates had built on land belonging to them. They also assigned their own priests to them, and in some cases a bell-ringer. These churches were wooden structures, and most appear to have been built in the 12th century. The only surviving trace of them consists of the remains of the church at Ravattula in Kaarina, near Turku. It has been dated as originating from the second half of the 12th century, and was for the use of the entire village population.

The establishment of actual local parishes took place in the time of Bishop Thomas, in the second quarter of the 13th century. These were

districts whose inhabitants were able to build and maintain a church and parsonage, and to pay a priest. They would sign an agreement to this effect with the bishop. In return, the church undertook to serve all the inhabitants of the parish district. This arrangement replaced the former system of private and village churches. The Ristimäki church in Ravattula, like other private churches, was abandoned.

Around 40 district parishes had been set up by the middle of the 13th century. Their churches were also wooden; their replacement with stone structures took place on the islands of Åland already in the 13th century, but on the Finnish mainland only around the year 1400.

The church was the first Finnish tax collector. Tithes were adapted according to the local economy: in Finland Proper and Satakunta, as arable land cultivation areas, tithes were paid mainly in rye, whereas in Tavastia and Ostrobothnia, and later in Savo and Karelia, most tithes were paid in the form of furs. This revenue was divided into thirds, allocated to the bishop, the priest and the parish church respectively.

Paganism and Christianity

Christianity did not arrive in a vacuum, but had to contend with the 'ignorant and cruel heathen' referred to in the legend of Saint Henry. Folk pagan beliefs may have been defeated, but they lived on, and indeed still survive today.

In the preface to his Psaltery (1551), Agricola lists the old gods of Tavastia and Karelia. In both cases, as in the Olympic pantheon, they are twelve in number, and their respective tasks are also described:

Tapio put game in the forest
And fish in the water.
Väinämöinen controlled the rivers,
Rahkoi took the light from the moon.

--

Rongoteus gave us rye,
Pellonpekko made the barley grow,
Virankannos tended the oats,
And other crops besides.
Ägräs made the peas, beans, turnips,
And brought forth cabbages, flax and hemp.

--

Kekri made the farmer's livestock grow.
Hiisi helped the forest folk hunt their game.
Mother of the water put fish in their net,
Nyrkäs gave the squirrels in the forest
Hittavainen brought forth the hares from the bushes.

The pagan gods were spirits, each with its own domain and task. The eastern Finnish spirits of the earth, water and air associated with the old nomadic culture were generally innocuous by nature, did not represent any kind of threat, and did not interfere with human activities if they were left alone. In western Finland the spirits inhabited the farmyard. The house, sauna, cowshed and drying barn all had their own gnomes or elves, watching over their respective dwelling places.

Another element of pagan belief was the dead, who lived on in the underworld. They were therefore buried in their best clothes, and left well equipped for the afterlife. Women were buried with scissors and a sickle, and men with their spear and knife, and sometimes their dog.

The dead were also provided with food and drink for the journey. In the words of Agricola:

> In the graves of the dead they placed food,
> Weeping and wailing all the while.

The practice of placing food on graves on major feast days continued after the victory of Christianity, and among Orthodox Christians in Karelia it is still followed today.

The spirits and the dead were kept favourably disposed with sacrifices. Spirits of the forest and of lakes and rivers were offered part of the prey or catch on the spot. Every district formed a fenced-off grove or *hiisi*, in which trees consecrated to the gods and spirits were grown. On feast days the people would gather here to offer sacrifices for the village's good fortune and success.

Christianity is an intolerant religion, which does not accept other gods alongside its own. The gods of Tavastia and Karelia listed by Agricola were 'idols' from the point of view of the church, and those who served them were incited by demons.

The old gods were therefore the servants of the devil, with whom there could be no bargaining or compromise. The sacred trees were felled, yet folk poetry, with its pagan origins, was put to the service of the Christian message. A ballad about a 'great pig' curses and mocks the old gods by recounting how a troop of them came to kill a huge pig, but when it turned its snout and paid them no heed, they scattered in all directions:

> Ukko ran to the pine tree,
> Rauni to the goat willow escaped,
> Virankannos fled to the maple,
> And other gods to sundry other trees.

The battle between paganism and Christianity ended in a victory for the latter. Neither Tapio nor Ahti, nor any of the other Finnish gods and spirits, had any chance of overcoming the White Christ. The new god was backed by the most powerful bureaucracy of the day, a highly developed system of laws, full-time officials, and a monopoly on literacy-based culture. It was also backed by the sword of temporal power.

This was the victory of a better organised and more effective religion. However, there were also real differences in terms of content. Those spreading the new religion were at pains to ensure that the Finns, living on the frontier between paganism and Christianity, were well aware of those differences. Pagan beliefs did not offer much consolation beyond the grave. In contrast, the essential message of Christianity was the belief in the resurrection and a life after death. Nordic source materials do not contain any direct comparisons of the old and new beliefs, but the Venerable Bede, in his history of the English church written in the eighth century, describes the perspective of a tribal leader pondering whether to convert to Christianity:

> Man's life on earth is like a sparrow flying through the banquet room where the king is sitting with his warriors and advisors on a winter's evening. A warm fire is burning behind them, while outside the storm rages and snow is falling. A sparrow flies quickly in one door and out the other. Inside it is sheltered from the winter storm, but after a few moments of respite it disappears whence it came. Man lives on this earth for but a moment, but we know nothing of what came before this life or what will come after it. So if this new doctrine brings us some more certainty, it seems right that we should follow it.

The defeated pagan beliefs lived on as an underground, alternative counterculture, tolerated to a greater or lesser extent, which survived down through the centuries of the Middle Ages and the Lutheran Reformation. The clergy attacked it from time to time, but few of them feared that it would ever regain its authority.

The line drawn by the church between itself and the old gods and their worship was clear and sharply defined. Over centuries of experience of missionary efforts, however, the church learned the value of some flexibility and accommodation regarding the old practices. Canon law was extended to include the instructions issued by Pope Gregory the Great in the 7th century. He advised missionary preachers departing for England to preserve pagan temples, and merely drive out the idols within them. He continued as follows:

> Sprinkle the temples with holy water and erect altars with saints' relics in them. If the people see that their temples are not being destroyed, they will more readily reject their errors and come with an open heart to those places where they have been accustomed to gather. Around the temples form leafy glades, and hold religious feasts in them. Animals should no longer be sacrificed to the glory of the devil, but to that of God, and for the people's own use and enjoyment. If outer pleasures are created for them in this manner, they will also find inner joy more readily. For their hearts are weak, and must not be deprived of all they have.

This shows the considerable extent of flexibility the church was prepared to show in its teachings. But popular religion never remained within the boundaries defined for it by the church authorities. As Saint Augustine was already forced to admit: 'What we teach is one thing, what we deign to accept is another, and what we are forced to tolerate is another matter

again'. In Finland, many spirits' roles were transferred to the Catholic saints. Spells and curses contained a mixture of old and new, pagan and Christian content.

2

The mediaeval church

Diocesan administration

The administrative structure of the church in the Middle Ages was centred around the bishop. Canon law divided the bishop's authority into three spheres. Firstly, he was the supreme consecrating authority in the diocese. Of the seven sacraments, two were reserved for the bishop: only he could consecrate priests and conduct confirmations. The bishop consecrated churches and monasteries, holy water and sacred oil. The church services conducted in the diocese were under his control. He was also the highest authority for confessions – only he could grant absolution for major sins such as perjury and taking human life.

The bishop was also the supreme doctrinal authority. It was his task to ensure the teaching of correct doctrine and to eliminate heresy. The Turku cathedral school was in his charge, and during the autumn markets he provided guidance and instruction to the clergy gathering for the synod.

And thirdly, the bishop was the highest administrative and judicial authority. He was responsible for the administration and finances of the

diocese. As well as exercising supreme judicial authority over the clergy, he also supervised the lives of the laity, and adjudicated on offences committed against the church.

The Bishop of Turku was the richest man in the land. One-third of all church tax proceeds was allocated to the bishop, in the form of rye, butter and furs, for all of which there was a ready market. The property associated with the episcopal office was known as the 'bishop's table', and passed to his successors. At the end of the Middle Ages it comprised the island of Kuusisto and the episcopal castle, around a dozen episcopal estates, 245 farms managed by tenant farmers, two or three fishing grounds, and several urban properties. The land property within the bishop's table was concentrated in northern Finland Proper and southern Satakunta, as the earliest Christian area, around the episcopal estates of Köyliö and Kokemäki.

The cathedral chapter elected the bishop, generally from within its own members. The election had to be endorsed by the Pope, who was not bound by the outcome, and there was always the unwelcome possibility of his appointing an outsider, who did not know the language or have a sense of the local conditions. The Turku chapter was nonetheless successful in keeping the episcopal office in the hands of local candidates. This required some skilful diplomacy, usually accompanied by the chinking sound of gold coin changing hands, but was above all dependent on the availability of capable appointees. The Finns put forward candidates who met the requirements, as educated men of unblemished character. Eight had master's degrees from Paris, Magnus Olai had studied in Prague, and Conrad Bitz in Leipzig and Bologna.

The appointment procedure became one whereby the Pope annulled the election result from Turku, but then appointed the elected candidate as bishop under his own authority. Up until the late Middle

Ages, the bishop elect (*electus*) travelled to Rome to seek confirmation of his appointment and to be consecrated by the Pope. In the late Middle Ages, however, the journey was undertaken by an agent, and the bishop was consecrated by the archbishop of Uppsala.

In mediaeval times there was no distinction between temporal and spiritual power. The bishops occupied the highest positions in the Swedish Council of the Realm, and were given governmental and diplomatic roles. Magnus Olai headed the Turku diocese during the time of three archbishops, and acted as a counsellor to three kings of the Union. The Chronicle of Bishops compares him to Joseph, the Pharaoh's chief minister. In the initial years of his term as bishop, Conrad Bitz took an active part in the political conflicts of the Nordic Union period. The line he supported was defeated, and he had to seek absolution from the Pope, since his men had been involved in bloodshed.

When the Great Russian War broke out at the end of the 15th century, Magnus Nicolai had no hesitation in committing his retinue, and his own and the cathedral's resources, to the cause of defending their native land. The last bishop of the mediaeval period, Arvid Kurck, drowned in the waves of the Gulf of Bothnia during the war against the Danes in 1522.

The bishop was assisted by the cathedral chapter, which is in fact Finland's most ancient continuously functioning official body. The bishop was obliged to seek the chapter's advice, and in the most important matters had to obtain its approval. The chapter governed the diocese at times when the office of bishop was vacant, and elected the new bishop.

At the end of the mediaeval period, the chapter comprised four prelates and eight canons. They were initially parish priests of local parishes, serving as chapter members in a secondary capacity. In the late mediaeval period the chapter members worked full-time in this role,

1976 marked the 700th anniversary of the foundation of the Turku Cathedral chapter. This postage stamp features the seal of the medieval chapter.
Photo: Postimuseo

and resided in Turku. They were assigned benefice parishes (prebends), which included a town residence.

One of the members of the cathedral chapter was the parish priest of Turku, another was the rector of the cathedral school, and another was responsible for the cathedral's finances. The bishop himself was not a member of the chapter in the mediaeval period. Since the bishop resided in the episcopal castle outside the city limits, the chapter looked after routine matters that did not require the bishop's involvement. Of greater importance than the administration of the cathedral was the matter of its services of worship, which were also supervised by the cathedral chapter. Masses and services conducted on canonical hours were however the task of lower-ranking clergy of the cathedral.

Apart from a few exceptions, the Turku clergy succeeded in keeping cathedral chapter offices in the hands of men from its own diocese. As in the case of bishop's elections, this required the nomination of high-quality candidates. In the late Middle Ages, two-thirds of the prelates,

and one-third of the canons, were drawn from local noble families. Almost all the prelates and one-third of the canons had studied at foreign universities and obtained master's degrees.

The priests of the diocese all made the journey to their cathedral once a year. The priests' synod was traditionally held on the day after the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary. In the synod, the bishop was able to issue instructions regarding both services of worship and other parish matters. The first known synodal statutes were issued by Bishop Hemming in 1352. From the late Middle Ages, we have the statutes of Conrad Bitz and Magnus Nicolai.

The intermediate level of the diocese administration structure consisted of the 'country provosts'. They supervised the clergy of their area, and conducted provost's district court sessions, where fines were imposed for lesser offences within the purview of ecclesiastical judicial authority. The boundaries of provost's districts were not fixed; a comprehensive division into districts is not found until the time of the Reformation, when there were a total of 19 provost's districts in the country.

✠ *The Finnish Chronicle of Bishops*

The written history of Finland began under the aegis of the Turku cathedral, where a list of the bishops up to that time was compiled in the middle of the 14th century. In the Reformation period, Paulus Juusten revised the mediaeval episcopal biographies, and extended the series on down to his own time. The work was completed in the 1570s, but Juusten was unable to complete the last biography in the series: his own. The work so created is entitled *Catalogus et ordinaria successio episcoporum Finlandensium* (List of the Finnish bishops in chronological order), but

is more usually referred to as *Chronicon episcoporum Finlandensium* (Finnish Chronicle of Bishops).

Juusten's chronicle is the most important narrative source for the mediaeval and Reformation periods of Finnish history, and Juusten is the first Finnish historian whose name is known to posterity. The Chronicle of Bishops was initially disseminated as a manuscript, of which twelve have survived. The first printed edition was published by Christian von Nettelbladt in 1728, and the next by Henrik Gabriel Porthan in 1784–1800. Porthan's publication, comprising 56 academic theses on 900 pages in all, includes the text of the chronicle, but this takes up only forty pages. Most of the work consists of extensive comments, and the footnotes accompanying them. Porthan calls this section 'a storehouse of Finnish history'; it is a well organised and critically reviewed compilation of Finnish historical sources. It established Porthan as the 'father of Finnish history', and laid the foundations for later Finnish historical research into the mediaeval and Reformation periods.

Juusten dedicates his chronicle to the Finnish clergy, and in a preface sets out his intentions in writing the work. Rather than merely recording past events, he says, his goal was also to instruct and console. He describes the history of the Finnish church, from Saint Henry to his own time, above all as a demonstration of God's mercy and blessings: God had 'called us from the darkness of paganism to join and become part of the holy church, and lovingly guided us through to the present troubled times, by continually sending us servants of the Gospel'.

Juusten says that he has compiled 'the names and biographies of the Finnish bishops as our predecessors described them and bequeathed them to us'. He has made additions, he says, particularly from the time

of Arvid Kurck onwards. 'I have done this in order to bring before your eyes the beginnings, development and growth of the Finnish church, and further, to show what it has suffered from neighbouring nations, the Russians and godless Courlandians, and the Danes, a people of no little deceit'. With regard to the internal development of the church, Juusten's focus is on 'how, and under which bishops, important changes have been made in the status of the clergy, and how doctrines or ceremonies have been renewed'.

Juusten does not denigrate the mediaeval church; on the contrary, the unbroken sequence of Bishops of Turku stands as testimony to the church's continuity. Nor does he become one of those historians who invents an illustrious past for his nation. When the primary sources have nothing to say, Juusten too falls silent. He draws on the archives of the cathedral chapter, particularly the copybook of the cathedral. There are a few errors in his interpretation of his source material, but these do nothing to diminish the credibility of the mediaeval section of the chronicle.

In the part dealing with the Reformation period, however, Juusten is both onlooker and participant, and is not afraid to put forward his own, often bluntly stated, position on an issue. In the biography of Michael Agricola, Juusten is at pains to mention those cases in which Agricola was seen as opposing the omnipotent king, and came off second best. King Gustavus Vasa, on the other hand, enjoys the author's uncritical adulation. This bias does not reach the point of casting doubt on the credibility of the wealth of factual material Juusten presents – but he does not tell the reader everything, and his narrative is presented from his own perspective. ✠

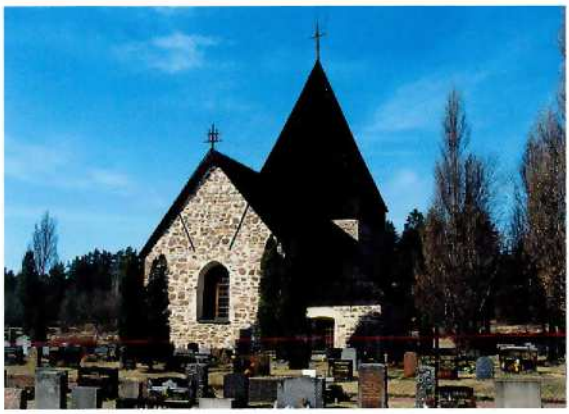
The parishes and servants of the church

At the end of the Middle Ages there were one hundred parishes in Finland. The network was at its densest on the islands of Åland, which was divided into eight parishes, and in Finland Proper, where the churches were sometimes only a few kilometres apart. There were 26 parishes in that province, 15 in Satakunta, 14 each in Nyland and Tavastia, 12 in Ostrobothnia, 8 in Karelia and 3 in Savo.

With the ongoing spread of settlement, efforts were made to divide the large parishes in what had previously been wilderness areas. For example, bishop Laurentius Suurpää, in a letter addressed to the Council of the Realm in 1504, paints a sorry picture of the church's situation in Savo and Karelia. Because of the long distances by land and water, he said, the people of Savo and Karelia seldom went to church, and some never attended. They therefore remained without instruction in the Christian faith, and were living like Lapps and pagans, putting their souls in great danger. They rarely received final communion on their deathbed, he said, particularly in autumn and spring, when the roads were impassable. Their children often died without having been taught the Christian faith or baptised. He recommended that such large parishes, which could support two or even three priests, should be split, with the construction of new churches and parsonages.

The Council of the Realm ordered the bishop to address the situation. The governors of Vyborg and Olavinlinna were to support this undertaking, and to have the peasants build churches and priest's residences. Sääminki was duly split off from the large parish of Juva, and

The church of Eckerö in Åland was built around 1400.
Photo: Markus Hiekkanen



its church was consecrated in 1510 by the next bishop, Johannes Olavi, on his visitation of Karelia. The parish planned for Iitti, in the frontier district between Tavastia and Karelia, was not however set up.

In remote border areas of some parishes, chapels were also established, with their own church and cemetery, but no priest. These were the so-called 'horseback churches', where a curate residing in the parent church would from time to time ride in on horseback to conduct church services. There were around thirty such chapels in Finland at the start of the Reformation period.

A total of 101 stone churches or parts of such structures were built in the diocese of Turku during the Middle Ages. Of the unfinished structures, the porch is missing in eleven, nine have no vault, and in thirteen only the sacristy was built. The last of these churches was completed in 1555 in Närpiö.

In terms of style, these churches may be divided into three types. The first comprises the churches on the islands of Åland, constructed between 1260 and 1400. Turku cathedral also belongs to this period.

The second generation of churches (29 in all) were constructed between 1430 and 1490; to this type belong almost all the churches in

Finland Proper and Nyland, along with those of Finström, Hattula and Vehkalahti.

The third generation, numbering 41 churches in all, were built between 1480 and 1555. They include all six Satakunta churches, all seven of the stone churches in Ostrobothnia, from Alatornio to Närpiö, the churches of Tavastia with the exception of Hattula, and several churches on the islands of Åland, and in Finland Proper and Nyland.

These churches were built according to a uniform plan developed by the diocese administration. No excessive time was to be spent on their construction: the sacristy was built during the first summer, the nave in the second, and in the third summer the structure was vaulted and the porch added.

At the end of the Middle Ages the Turku diocese numbered approximately 150 priests. Each parish had its own parish priest (*kirkkoherra*), in some cases along with a curate (*kappalainen*). In addition to the crops grown in the garden around the residence, the parish priest received one-third of the tithes collected for the parish and sundry payments for burials, weddings and baptisms. The curates were in a more precarious position. They were appointed by the parish priest, who paid them their salary.

Under canon law the bishop had the right to appoint the parish priest, but only very rarely was the appointment made contrary to the peasants' wishes. They had built the church and the priest's residence, and wanted to be led by a priest who was to their liking. Even into the modern era there are known cases of parishioners refusing to open the church doors to the newcomer, who was sometimes even thrown back over the church fence, in the time-honoured manner.

The ties between priest and parish were very close, with assurances of loyalty given by both parties. According to the foundation charter

of Akaa parish (1483), the peasants promised to fund their priest for all reasonable expenses claimed, and 'promised and swore that henceforth we shall treat the parish priest with the respect that the law requires, as is the practice of good men elsewhere in this country'.

The clergy were mainly of peasant origin. The priest grew crops in the land around his residence, and knew what it was to be a peasant farmer. But priests also belonged to the educated class, and were gentry (*herra*), in the same way as the nobility. Their supposed celibacy also set them apart from the peasantry. While it was not unusual for a priest to have children with his housekeeper, they were illegitimate offspring, with no right of inheritance. Bishop Hemming prohibited such children from living in parsonages, since these were 'the hereditary estate of Christ crucified'. It was only after the Reformation that the concept of clerical families and dynasties became a reality.

The parish priest was also assisted by the parish clerk, who was a layman, and whose main duty was to ring the church bells. The clerk also looked after the church's fittings and equipment, and the church building. He was required to accompany the priest on parish visits and to the synod meeting. Church correspondence between parsonages was conducted via the respective clerks.

Religious orders, monasteries and convents

The oldest monastic order of the Middle Ages was the Benedictines. There were Benedictine monasteries in Sweden, but the network did not extend to Finland. The Cistercian order founded in the 12th century by

Bernard de Clairvaux did however set up establishments in the Baltic region. The northernmost of these was the Padise monastery established in northern Estonia at the beginning of the 14th century. It also acquired land and salmon fishing grounds on the northern side of the Gulf of Finland. The *munkki* component of a number of Finnish place names such as Munkkiniemi and Munkkivuori in Helsinki refer back to the Cistercian monks of Padise. Their influence remained slight, however.

The first religious order to be domiciled in Finland was the Dominican order, which set up convents in Turku in 1249 and Vyborg in 1392. The Franciscans (order of the Friars Minor) arrived in Vyborg at the beginning of the following century. The monasteries of Rauma and Kökar were founded in the mid-15th century.

The mendicant orders were not monastic orders; their friars were not tied to specific monasteries, but could move around freely, preaching and doing good works. They could be moved from one convent to another, and gave their promise of loyalty to the Master of the order. The latter was directly subordinate to the Pope; the bishops had no control over the actions of the friars. Their independent status could sometimes be a source of friction. The parish priest of Sääksmäki complained in 1340, in a letter written to the Holy See, regarding the way in which the Dominican friars were celebrating mass using portable altars, and receiving offerings. The Franciscans of Vyborg had similar quarrels with the town's clergy.

Quarrels were the exception, and cooperation the rule, however. The Dominicans were actively involved in the foundation of the town of Turku, and the transfer of the episcopal see. The diocese adopted the Dominican liturgy in the first half of the 14th century. Every convent was required to have a lector of theology, and three such lectors in Finland are known by name. The Dominican tradition was also reflected in academic courses of study. According to the record of bor-

rowings from the Sorbonne library, for example, in the 1430s Finnish students were reading the texts of the Dominican theologian Thomas of Aquinas in particular.

Less is known of the influence of the Franciscans. The only Finnish doctor of theology in mediaeval times, Stephanus Laurentii, belonged to the brotherhood of Kökar. He had studied at the order's college in Lund, and was awarded his degree in Rome in 1481. At that time, he was the superior of the Dacian Franciscan province. Brother Stephanus died in Denmark in 1496, but was buried at Kökar.

According to the Chronicle of Bishops, Magnus Olai 'transferred the monks and nuns of the Order of the Most Holy Saviour from Vadstena to the diocese of Turku, and had the abbey built for them at Naantali, as its initial founder. He had the sacristy and chancel built at his own expense.'

Some twenty abbeys of the order of Saint Bridget, similar to the Vadstena model, had been established in many parts of Europe before the Naantali institution. These were abbeys for both nuns and monks, but were founded in honour of the Virgin Mary, and for women. They were led by an abbess, since according to the rule of the order, 'the abbess shall be the head and ruler, since the Holy Virgin, whose substitute she is on earth, was after the Ascension the head and queen of the apostles and disciples'. Monks in holy orders were needed to sing masses and prayers, hear confessions and preach. The abbey also included lay brothers. The brothers were led by a confessor general, who was elected by the entire abbey. The abbeys were not independent, but under the supervision of the local bishop.

The first nuns and monks came from Vadstena. The abbey was self-sufficient when Conrad Bitz, in 1462, according to the Chronicle of Bishops, 'consecrated the abbey and confined its members to eternal isolation'. The only statistic recorded is from 1487, when there were 54

Saint Bridget. This wooden statue from the church of Padasjoki is thought to have been imported from Lübeck at the beginning of the 15th century.
Photo: Museovirasto

nuns and 8 monks in holy orders at Naantali. This is the period when the abbey was flourishing, but in 1508 the abbess, the confessor general and 34 of the nuns and monks died of the plague. The parent abbey in Vadstena sent some new members, but the institution never fully recovered.

The nuns were daughters of noble and middle-class families, and in many cases had been placed there in childhood to be educated. The parents then made a donation to the abbey, usually in the form of farms, and the Naantali abbey became one of Finland's leading landowners. Widows were also accepted as sisters.

The monks were drawn from the parish clergy. The first Finnish author to be known by name is Friar Jöns Budde, who translated into Swedish the books of the Old Testament that were considered to be suitable reading material for the nuns, i.e. Ruth, Esther and Judith, the biography of Saint Bridget's daughter Catherine, and devotional reading.

Other manuscripts produced in the abbey's scriptorium have also survived. Books were lent to Naantali from the extensive library at Vadstena.

The friars were also active outside the abbey, hearing confessions and preaching in both Finnish and Swedish. Some of their sermons in Swedish have survived.

The residential accommodation of the nuns and monks was on different sides of the abbey church, and the rules of the order also kept them strictly separated. The nuns followed the masses and prayers sung by the monks from a separate gallery. There were two occasions on which they entered the body of the church: on their consecration as nuns, and after they died, on the blessing of the body prior to burial.

The nuns' most important duty was to practise devotion. The daily cycle was defined by prayers and masses. The times between services were devoted to practical activities, gardening and embroidery. They were highly skilled producers of church textiles. At mealtimes they read aloud, in Swedish, from the Bible, Saint Bridget's revelations, or other religious books. Some of the nuns could write, and some of their letters in Swedish have survived.

But in 1536, the mendicant friars were banned in the kingdom of Sweden. In the very next year, as Juusten records in his chronicle, 'the monastery of the preaching brothers of Turku was burned to ashes on the day of the invention of the cross [3 May]. It has still not been repaired, and its monks became priests in countryside.' The Dominican convent of Vyborg was closed, and its church became a parish church. The same fate befell the Franciscan monastery at Rauma, from which the friars were expelled in 1538. The friars at Kökar and Vyborg had to leave at the same time. The Kökar monastery was soon in ruins, over which the present parish church was built. The stones of the Vyborg monastery were used in the construction of the walls of the town.

Nor did the Reformation spare the abbey of Naantali. While new sisters were still accepted, family members no longer donated land as a dowry. Michael Agricola inspected the abbey as Bishop of Turku, in 1554, and ordered that its form of worship be changed to the Lutheran rite. While this probably did not actually happen, the abbey was no longer a spiritual hub, but rather an institution for the care of older noblewomen. The Crown confiscated the abbey properties in 1556, and supported the residents with temporary grants. The revival initiatives of John III and Katarina Jagellonica had not yet taken effect, and on the death in 1577 of the last abbess, niece of Arvid Kurck, the King ordered that the abbey church become a parish church. The last nun at Naantali died in 1591.

✠ *The venerable Father Martinus Skytte*

The most notable of the Finnish Dominicans was Martinus Skytte, appointed to the Turku episcopal see in 1528. He was born around 1470 as the son of a Sääksmäki district court judge. After attending school in Rauma and Turku, he joined the Sigtuna Dominicans. 'On noticing his talent, they sent him to Germany, where he spent several years studying the humanities and theology. After roaming through Italy and most of Germany, he finally returned to the Sigtuna monastery.' This is the story as related in his Chronicle by Paulus Juusten, who as an orphan attending school lived in the Turku bishop's residence.

There is no reference to Brother Martinus in the rolls of the German universities, but he is known to have studied and taught for around ten years at the order's college in Naples. In 1500 he started lecturing on the Sentences of Petrus Lombardus, but he returned to the Sigtuna community in the following year as its prior. He represented the Nordic

The Bishop of Turku Martinus Skytte (bottom right) dressed in a Dominican robe kneeling at the base of the cross. The embroidered burse manufactured by a craftsman in Stockholm in early 16th century is a part of the collection of church textiles held at the Cathedral of Turku.
Photo: P. O. Welin / Museovirasto

countries in the Dacian province at the general capitel of the order held in Genoa in 1513. He accepted a royal offer of promotion when the King appointed him in 1525 as inspector of the Swedish Dominican convents and head of the entire Dacia province.

He also agreed to accept the office of Bishop of Turku when offered it by the King. He was consecrated along with the Bishops of Skara and Strängnäs on Twelfth Night 1528 at Strängnäs Cathedral with the traditional ceremony. The consecration was performed by the Bishop of Västerås, who had himself been consecrated in Rome, so the 'apostolic succession' was preserved in the Swedish church.

But one thing was missing – the Pope's confirmation of the consecration had not been obtained. According to Laurentius Andreae, chancellor of Gustavus Vasa, Skytte was in fact 'an Evangelical rather than a papal bishop, a bishop according to the word of God, not the word of the Pope'. Chancellor Laurentius had also created a formula for the episcopal oath that differed from the former version. The candidate for consecration now promised to preach and promote the Gospel, to be content with the assets and income that were essential for the performance of his task, and to be loyal to the King.

Martinus Skytte was not a supporter of the Reformation, but at Turku he enjoyed the respect of the younger generation who had studied at Wittenberg. In Juusten's words:

> Master Martinus was known for his great piety, moderation and clean living. He loved the Christian faith and the true worship of God, and also practised great generosity towards all people. It was his habit every Friday, whenever he was at home, to distribute five or six marks to the poor; in addition, he gave orders that the poor and beggars should always be fed.

According to Juusten in the Chronicle, he had to accept that 'whereas in the time of former bishops the status of the clergy grew and flourished, from the term of Martinus as bishop that status began to change, diminish and decline, until finally it became different altogether'. The King levied taxes on the bishop and the cathedral, and gradually whittled away the central administration of the diocese. When members of the cathedral chapter died, 'no-one succeeded them in office, and all their land and income accrued to the Crown'. The Chronicle sees the destruction of the former system through the eyes of a bishop 'broken by age and cares'; he has 'seen such great changes in many matters relating to

the clergy, which he in his youth had long known to be observed with respect in the whole of Christendom'.

Along with this downward trend, Juusten records another development in the opposite direction. He praises the bishop's support of travel abroad to study, and indeed the Reformation. In Turku, he says, 'there was a rule in the cathedral chapter that those capable of undertaking studies in the humanities and theology should be given financial support to do so. Again in this matter he performed his office with the required degree of energy to ensure that the church would have, not only in his own time, but also into the future, qualified and diligent people in its service to give instruction to the young and to the rest of the church'. Accordingly, he arranged for eight young men, named by Juusten, to be sent to study at Wittenberg, 'all of whom became loyal servants of the Lord's community, according to the talents and abilities God had bestowed on each of them'.

According to Kauko Pirinen, 'this unassuming bishop in a time of transition achieved more for the ideal of Catholic piety than many of his predecessors. As a leader of the church he tended to sail with the current rather than taking a firm hand at the helm.' ✠

The church and culture

The church brought Western culture to Finland: books, reading and writing, and an international language, insofar as Latin became the country's first written language.

The priest sang the mass in Latin, but preached and taught in the vernacular. Some fundamental texts of the Christian faith had been translated into Finnish already in the missionary period. These includ-

ed the principal parts of the catechism: the Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, the creed and the confession formula. In the late Middle Ages priests were instructed to read these from the pulpit every Sunday. They were also ordered to have the texts in written form, so that they would always be read out in the same words, and therefore better become fixed in the minds of the listeners. The texts were written down on scraps of paper and in notebooks. None of these have survived, but priests in the Reformation period were familiar with them, and used them as the basis for their own teaching and preaching.

Almost all literary texts then used in Finland belonged to the clergy. Already in the missionary period, bishop Thomas had acquired an extensive library directly from Paris, and bishop Hemming donated some forty works to the cathedral. They consisted of essential ecclesiastical texts, editions of the Bible and texts of canon law. Much of the mediaeval literature has survived, since the parchment sheets of the 'old monks' books' made redundant by the Reformation were removed from their bindings and re-used as covers for paper accounts books of King Gustavus's bailiffs. More than ten thousand sheets of this material are held in the Finnish National Library. They originate from an estimated number of approximately 1500 different mediaeval manuscripts. Most of them are texts for liturgical use, but the collection also includes theological and legal texts, mostly of foreign origin, such as textbooks used in Paris, brought back to Finland by returning students. There are also some texts produced in the scriptoria of Turku cathedral and the abbey at Naantali.

The highest educational institution in the diocese was the Turku cathedral school, established at the end of the 13th century. It taught the future priests Latin, and imparted the theoretical knowledge they needed for their work. In the senior class the scholars assisted in church services as choirboys, and learned the practical aspects of the priest's

The Ejby communion chalice was seized by Danish troops from Turku Cathedral and passed into the possession of the church of Ejby in the Danish province of Zealand in 1509. It was returned by the Ejby parish in 1925.
Photo: Timo Jakonen / Turun tuomiokirkkomuseo

role under the supervision of the cathedral chapter. There were Latin schools at Vyborg, Rauma and Porvoo.

The rector of the cathedral school was one of the members of the cathedral chapter. The position was poorly remunerated, and generally a thankless task. Conrad Bitz found it necessary to prohibit rectors from appropriating part of the alms collected by the scholars. In the late Middle Ages, it was the custom for the master's degree holder most recently returned from studying abroad to assume the schoolmaster's role. In the Reformation period this had the result that the first Finnish students of Luther were immediately able to have an impact on the education of future clergy.

The schools in the Turku diocese may not have been the foremost such institutions in the whole of Christendom, but the curriculum was the same as elsewhere. A scholar who had learned Latin in Finland was easily able to interact and work with graduates and students in the Latin Quarter of Paris, or in Bologna or Prague.

A total of 165 Finns are mentioned in the records of mediaeval universities. One-third of them studied in Paris, where the first students from the diocese of Turku are recorded in the early 14th century. At the end of the century, the Paris university supported the Avignon Popes in the papal schism, whereas the German empire and Nordic countries supported the Pope in Rome. This turned Finnish students towards Prague, as the German empire's oldest university, and to Leipzig and Erfurt at the start of the 15th century. One-third of the known Finnish students attended these universities. When the schism ended, some Finns again returned to Paris, so that in the 1420s up to nine students from the diocese of Turku were studying in the Latin Quarter.

In the latter part of the century Paris lost its international lustre, and declined to the status of a local French university. The remaining third of the students from the diocese of Turku turned their steps towards the new universities on the south Baltic coast, Rostock and Greifswald. French cultural influence was thus giving way to German even before the Reformation, although the last four bishops of Turku in the mediaeval period still held their master's degrees from Paris.

The distant Nordic countries could only afford to send a select few to study at universities in continental Europe. Nonetheless among them were a number who found in Paris not the seven liberal arts, but rather the seven deadly sins, and whose travel budgets ended up going down their throats in the drinking houses of the Left Bank.

The Finnish students studied in the faculty of arts, with only a few going on to study canon law or theology. The basic course provided a good grounding in the natural sciences, mainly based on the works of Aristotle. The most highly prized asset was Latin speaking and writing skills, gained in lectures and debating exercises. This opened the way to leading positions in both secular and church administration.

The Finnish students in Paris belonged to the university's English and German 'nation', and were actively involved in its administration and that of the university as a whole. Eleven of their number chaired meetings of the nation, and two later bishops of the diocese became rectors of the university: Johannes Petri in 1366 and Olaus Magni in 1435.

Finland's first literary texts were written in praise of the apostle of Finland. These were Latin texts produced in the early 14th century for the two feast days of Saint Henry, to be read as prose and sung in verse respectively. Both are based on the legend of Saint Henry. The anonymous authors would appear to have been Dominican friars.

The collection of songs for students and scholars *Piae Cantiones ecclesiasticae et scholasticae veterum episcoporum* appeared in print only in 1582. It contains 74 songs, with music. Most of the songs are mediaeval, and around one-half of them were brought to Finland by returning students. Many of the composers were Bohemian. Scholars were still singing in churches in Latin in the latter part of the 17th century, and in some secondary schools the tradition of the pupils singing in Latin survived into the 19th century.

Two books were printed in the Middle Ages for the diocese of Turku. Along with the *Missale Aboense* (Turku Missal) that had appeared in Lübeck in 1488, a manual entitled *Manuale seu exequiale Aboense* was published in 1522. It contains the texts a priest required for church service rituals. The book was commissioned by bishop Arvid Kurck, but he did not live to see it, nor was it ever used by priests. Only a few fragmentary copies of the book have survived. The Reformation made it redundant, but later Finnish manuals built on the tradition it represents.

✠ *Missale Aboense*

The first book to be printed for use in Finland was published at the press of Bartholomeus Ghotan in Lübeck in 1488. *Missale Aboense secundum ordinem fratrum praedicatorum*, the missal for the diocese of Turku, is in folio, with 266 sheets. The type is Gothic minuscule, which Gutenberg had also used in his Bible. The text is divided into two columns. The headings and instructions to the priest are printed in red, and the passages to be read aloud by the priest are in black. The book contains fifteen illustrations, which are coloured by hand. The stave lines and notes are also handwritten. The work is among the masterpieces of early book printing.

Approximately 120 copies of the missal may have been printed, which would have been sufficient for all the churches of the diocese. After the Reformation the book became redundant, and Porthan complained in the late 18th century that the copies he could find in church libraries were badly torn. The work now survives in fifteen copies printed on paper, and four printed on parchment.

On the title page of the missal is a woodcut depicting Saint Henry, bishop Conrad Bitz as the client commissioning the book, and the cathedral provost, Magnus Nicolai. The two diocese leaders are portrayed with equal status, and indeed the transition between them was imminent; the old bishop died just one year later, and the provost was elected as his successor. Below the illustration is a letter from Conrad Bitz dated 18 August 1488, in which the purchase of the book is justified by the fact that there were only a few missals in the diocese, and those that did exist were in very poor condition.

The missal is an altar book, containing all the texts required for the rituals performed by the priest during church services. It begins with the calendar of the saints for the Turku diocese and formula for the benedic-

Missale Aboense, initial illustration. Photo: Kansalliskirjasto

tion of holy water. Then follow the changing texts for the ecclesiastical year, from Advent to Trinity Sunday. In the middle of the work is its most important section, the texts to be read out and sung during the daily mass. The communion liturgy is printed in a single column, in larger type. At the beginning of the section is a full-page illustration showing Christ crucified. The second half of the work contains the changing texts for the remainder of the ecclesiastical year and texts for saint's feast days.

The Turku missal is not an independent work, but a missal *secundum ordinem fratrum praedicatorum*, i.e. essentially a missal according to the liturgy of the Dominican friars. Since the Turku diocese followed the Dominican liturgy, the Dominican missal provided an appropriate guide, adapted for Finnish conditions by the addition of a number of texts for saint's feast days celebrated in Finland. This was also less expensive than commissioning an entire work specifically for the purpose.

The Turku missal also formed the basis for Lutheran worship in Finland. Both Agricola and Juusten used it as the basis for their missals in Finnish, which appeared in 1549 and 1575 respectively, and its influence on worship extends right down to the liturgy used today. ✠

Mediaeval churches

The map alongside shows the locations of the parish churches and chapels, cathedrals, monastic churches and estate churches constructed in Finland up to c.1530. The great majority of these were parish churches, with monastery and similar churches accounting for only ten or so of the total number. Only about 100 of these churches were stone structures, or included some sections made of stone, such as the sacristy. The pattern of the location of these churches reflects the distribution of permanent settlement in Finland during the Middle Ages. Settlement was markedly less dense than in the provinces of southern Sweden or the Baltic region, which were more highly populated, and where the monastic orders had a

Photo: Markus Hiekkanen

significantly greater influence on church construction. There were a greater number of churches in the territorially small Baltic provinces than in sparsely inhabited Finland.

Finland's first cathedral was built in Turku; the town church of Vyborg was made a cathedral only at the beginning of the modern era. Like many cathedrals in the Middle Ages, the Cathedral of Turku was constructed in successive stages over several centuries.

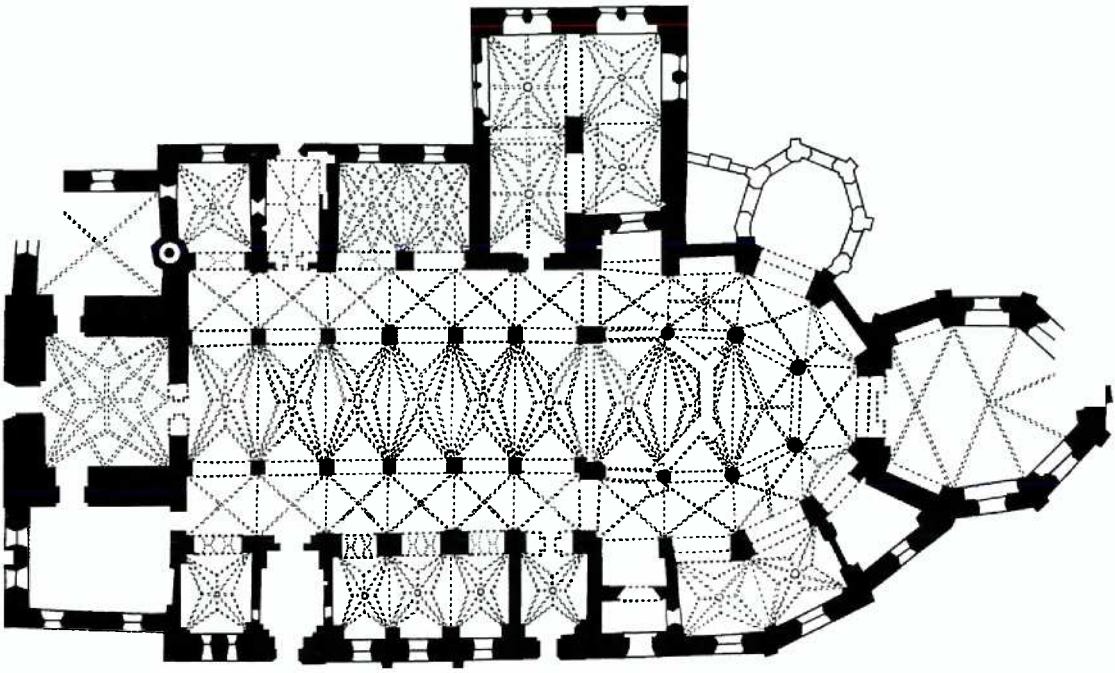


Photo: Markus Hiekkanen

(Ground plan of the Cathedral of Turku). There were several side chapels. From the ground plan it can be seen that what is now the choir was originally a independent chapel building, the All Saints chapel, in accordance with liturgical practice in the Middle Ages. It was integrated into the main body of the church in the Lutheran period, and in the major restoration works undertaken in the

20th century it was decided not to re-create the originally separate structures. Most of the mediaeval stone churches were built on the coast, with only a few isolated examples in inland southern Finland. The body of the church at Inkoo, on the coast of western Uusimaa, is a dual nave structure, contrasting with other churches on the southern coast. It belongs to the same group as the churches of Hollola, Karkku and Tammela.

Photos: Arto Kuorikoski

3

The Reformation and popular education

Michael Agricola, Paulus Juusten and the Finnish Reformation

The Reformation in Sweden was not driven by the people or the clergy, but imposed from above, by royal command. King Gustavus (reigned 1523–1560) had no interest in questions of theology. In all of Luther's teachings, the one aspect that appealed to him was that it justified his destroying the church's temporal power, and seizing its revenue and property for the Crown.

Bishop's castles were demolished, and bishops were removed from the King's Council of the Realm. The office of bishop was not abolished – as it was in Lutheran Germany – but bishops were now appointed by the King rather than the Pope. At the Diet of Västerås in 1527, it was decided that the church's 'surplus possessions' were to accrue to the Crown, with the decision on what was 'surplus' to be made by the King, not the church. To King Gustavus, the Reformation meant purging the church

not of its abuses, but of its assets – an operation which then proceeded slowly but surely. The church's property reverted to the Crown.

Tithes morphed into a Crown tax, and the state paid the salaries of both priests and the diocesan chapter. These salaries were no longer dependent on annual revenue; instead decisions on remuneration were made on the basis of the no less uncertain factor of the royal whim.

The abolition of tithes represented a major bloodletting for the church. Following their abolition, in the diocese of Turku just over one-quarter of the amount remained for the use of the church, accordingly the Crown's profit from the church amounted to about three-quarters of the church's tax revenue. But the Crown's profit was greater than the church's loss, since the Crown was more skilled at claiming its dues than the church had been. The rural clergy lost more than half their revenue with the change in the tax system. The loss to the diocese was even greater, since simultaneously with the abolition of the tithes the Turku cathedral chapter was dismantled.

In order to meet the national debt, the King also needed the church's valuables. Silver communion chalices, monstrances and reliquaries were melted down and made into coins, church bells were cast into cannon, and the parchment sheets of mediaeval books were reused as the covers of tax lists.

The collapse of the mediaeval church is most clearly illustrated in the fact that the construction of stone churches ceased, and most projects already under way were left unfinished. There were almost fifty such projects, and only a few were completed. The reason for this was that the tax assets earmarked for parish building funds reverted to the Crown. Agricola was able to consecrate Närpiö church in 1555, but the next stone church was not completed until the 1680s.

Luther enjoined rulers to use the resources they appropriated from

the church for universities and schools, and for the care of the poor and sick. The Swedish monarch turned a deaf ear to this advice. He was not interested in the life of the intellect. The University of Uppsala was closed, and schools withered away. Along with the economic decline of the church, culture also collapsed.

The links between the Swedish kingdom and the Papal See were severed as early as 1523. Thereafter supreme ecclesiastical authority was held by the King. He declined to change the church's teachings or ceremonies as quickly as Luther's former students from Sweden, Olavus and Laurentius Petri, wished, since, in his view, the people held to the 'good old Christian practices', and making changes to these would stir up unrest and rebellion.

The New Testament in Swedish appeared in 1526, followed by the entire Bible in 1541. Most Finns were unable to read Swedish, so the biblical texts had to be translated. So it was that the Reformation gave Finland a literature in the vernacular. While Finnish was already a written language in the Middle Ages, no texts from this period have survived.

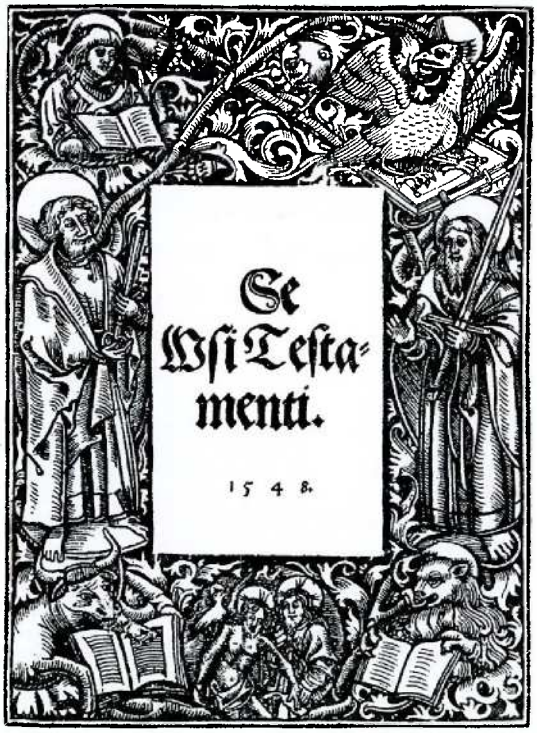
Michael Agricola was the first writer whose texts in Finnish appeared in printed form. He was born ca. in 1507 as the son of a well-to-do farming family in Pernå, in the Swedish-speaking region of eastern Nyland. While attending school in Vyborg he became acquainted with the ideas of humanism and the Reformation, and in 1528 he was appointed as secretary to the new Bishop of Turku, Martinus Skytte. Papal confirmation of the bishop's consecration had not been obtained, and in the words of the Chronicle of Bishops: 'In the time of bishop Martinus, papal authority collapsed in the whole of Finland, private and corner masses were prohibited, there was no more holy water or consecration of ashes and palms'. Priests began to marry. Liturgical texts were translated into Finnish and purged of 'popery'.

Students from the diocese of Turku were now sent directly to Wittenberg, for the first time in 1531. By the end of the century, thirty Finns had studied in Wittenberg, including three future bishops of Turku, and four of Vyborg. All rectors of the Turku cathedral school from 1535 to 1630 had gone to Wittenberg. In this way the main academic centre of Lutheranism came to leave an indelible mark on the Finnish church and Finnish culture.

Agricola departed for Wittenberg in 1536, graduating with the master's degree three years later. He attended the lectures of Luther and Melanchthon, and together with two or three fellow-Finnish students translated the New Testament into Finnish. It was for this purpose that he had been sent to study with Luther. On his return he was given the office of schoolmaster. 'During his ten years at the head of the school, he not only diligently instructed the young pupils, but also when time permitted did other work for the good of the church', we read in the Chronicle of Bishops. He wrote his ABC book, the first book in Finnish, which was printed in Stockholm in 1543. Along with the alphabet and numerals, it contains the catechism, which is mainly based on Luther's Small Catechism.

Agricola's most original work was the prayer book that appeared in the following year, which covers the widest scope of any work of its kind in the Reformation period; it numbers just under nine hundred pages, and contains almost seven hundred prayers. It is a comprehensive collection, catering for both liturgical and personal devotional needs.

For the prayer book, Agricola gleaned prayers from throughout the Bible, and also drew on mediaeval sources, especially the missal of the Turku diocese (*Missale Aboense*), and the plentiful prayer texts of the Reformation period. There are several prayers by Luther and Melanchthon, and the prayer book of Erasmus of Rotterdam is trans-



Title page of Agricola's translation of the New Testament. Photo: Wikimedia Commons / Årvasbåo

lated in its entirety. The wide selection and changes made by Agricola to the mediaeval prayers demonstrate his ability to successfully reshape the old tradition along Lutheran lines.

But Agricola's most significant achievement was the translation of the New Testament into Finnish. It appeared in 1548, as a generously illustrated 718-page work. Along with the sacred text, the work contains two forewords, in the second of which Agricola recounts the story of the arrival of Christianity in Finland, and describes the country's provinces and dialects. As the language for the translation he chose the dialect of Finland Proper. In support of this decision, he argues that this province 'is, as it were, the mother of the other provinces, since it was the first to become Christian, and because here in Turku we have the country's

mother church and episcopal see', and where necessary he has also included the 'language, expressions and words of other provinces'.

The work also incorporates prefaces to all books of the New Testament except the last. The prefaces to the gospels are those written by the church father Saint Jerome, which Agricola has translated into Finnish from Erasmus's Latin New Testament. The remaining prefaces are from Luther's Bible. The German and Swedish Bibles are the sources of the brief explanations – numbering more than five hundred in all – placed in the margins or at the ends of chapters. While the majority of these explanations are translations, Agricola has adapted the original texts and made omissions and additions.

In his foreword, Agricola states that the New Testament has been translated 'partly from Greek texts, partly from Latin, German and Swedish texts'. He has used the Greek original published by Erasmus, and also had on his writing desk the Vulgate and Erasmus's new translation into Latin, along with the Swedish New Testament and the Swedish 'Gustavus Vasa Bible' of 1541. With regard to Luther's Bible, he has used several editions appearing in the 1530s and 1540s. In making his translation, he has examined all the source texts, without giving precedence to any of them.

Agricola planned to translate the entire Bible, but this project was curtailed owing to a lack of resources. King Gustavus Vasa's policy of cancelling all entitlements had sucked the Turku diocese dry, and not a penny was forthcoming from the Crown's coffers for the printing of books in Finnish. When sales revenue was cut off, work on the Bible translation also ceased. The hiatus was to last one hundred years, since the Finnish Bible did not appear until 1642. From the Old Testament Agricola did, however, translate the book of Psalms and some of the prophets. He also made Finnish translations of the books used in the liturgy and church rituals, from the corresponding texts in Swedish.

Most of Agricola's works are translations, particularly of the Bible. He translated the texts of the Bible into Finnish meticulously, with no additions or omissions, but when translating mediaeval texts or explanations he worked more freely, adding, deleting and modifying the source material. He took this approach in particular in purging unwanted content from mediaeval prayers. Where the mediaeval prayer addresses the Virgin Mary, Agricola removes the reference to the Virgin, replacing her name with that of Christ. In this way he brings the older prayer into line with Lutheran doctrine.

Agricola was a conservative reformer, who was clearly influenced by humanism, as much a student of Erasmus as of Luther. He was also a 'second-generation reformer', who no longer had to tear down the old ways, as Luther and Olavus Petri had had to do. The decisive step had already been taken while Agricola was still a schoolboy, when the Swedish monarchy cut its ties with the Apostolic See. The task facing Agricola was rather to create something new, to bring the word of God to Finns in Finnish.

Bishop Martinus died in 1550. Four years later, the King appointed Agricola, but at the same time he split the diocese in two, with a new Vyborg diocese covering eastern Finland. The division of the diocese was not to Agricola's liking; the King's intention was not to make the administration of the church more effective, but to diminish the power of the Bishop of Turku. Agricola's time as bishop was brief, and overshadowed by the war between Sweden and Russia. Agricola was a member of the mission sent to negotiate peace with Ivan the Terrible, and he died on the return journey on 9 April 1557.

Agricola's work was continued by his younger colleague, the former Wittenberg student and Turku rector Paulus Juusten, whose terms as bishop, first at Vyborg, then at Turku, lasted twenty years in all. These

Paulus Juusten was elevated to the nobility after his diplomatic mission. On his coat of arms Juusten had painted a half-naked man flagellating himself. At the top of the crest is a bishop's mitre, and on either side a Russian knotted whip.
Photo: SLS

were depressing times, and Juusten exhorted his clergy to be patient, since the authorities had reduced their income. The church had however emerged from the era of 'papal darkness', and in both Finnish dioceses, church ceremonies were now being performed 'following the example of the Wittenberg congregation', as in the other Swedish dioceses. The level of preaching skills still left much to be desired, however, and the bishop approved the books of homilies by Luther, Melanchthon and Johannes Brenz to assist in this regard.

Like Agricola, Juusten too served his king as a peace negotiator. The journey of the delegation to Ivan the Terrible led by Juusten in 1569–1572 became a tale of sorrows. The delegates were mocked and humiliated, left hungry and taken captive, and more than ten of them died of the plague. They finally made it back home about three years later, having achieved nothing. Juusten's detailed report of the journey has survived.

The consolidation of Lutheranism

In the latter half of the 16th century Lutheranism was on the defensive. The battle for religious supremacy in Europe was now being fought between a resurgent Catholic church and the younger branch of the Reformation movement, active Calvinism. The influence of both sides was felt in the kingdom of Sweden. The sons of Gustavus Vasa, unlike their father, were well versed in theological issues, and endeavoured to govern the church in accordance with their respective views. Eric XIV (reigned 1560–1567) favoured the more severe concept of Christianity propounded by Calvinism. He ruled for only a brief time, however. His successor was John III (1568–1592), who instead held the episcopal system in high regard, supported the ailing abbeys of Vadstena and Naantali, was fascinated by church rituals, and like many other theologians of the day, wanted to restore the unity of the church. He believed this could be achieved on the basis of the old church's doctrine and practices. His wife, the Polish princess Katarina Jagellonica, was a devout Catholic, but of a tolerant type. She took communion with wine.

John wanted to lead his country in the direction of a tolerant form of Catholicism, of the kind espoused by his wife. The time for this was past,

however, since the Council of Trent, concluded in 1563, had hammered out clear boundaries between the denominations. The conflict was now between the strict Catholic Counter-Reformation and an equally strict Lutheranism. When the diplomatically disposed Gregory XIII was made Pope in 1572, John entered into negotiations with Rome, and the Curia began to cherish the hope of Sweden's return to the parent church. However, John set three conditions for his own conversion and that of his people: the serving of communion wine to lay worshippers, the marriage of priests, and a liturgy in the vernacular. The Apostolic See was unable to agree to these, and the King quickly realised that Rome was a party not to be negotiated with, but only to be obeyed.

In spite of the failure to achieve unification, the King continued his efforts on another tack. He personally created a new liturgy, which was printed in 1576. This *Liturgia Svecanae Ecclesiae Catholicae et Orthodoxae Conformis*, as its name indicated, was a combination of the Roman and Swedish masses. According to the preface, its aim was to protect the church from two beasts that were threatening it: *Superstitio* from one side, and *Profanitas* from the other. The latter was seen as the more dangerous. John therefore sought to direct the Swedish church towards the old church structure and a form of liturgy that could serve as an example to the whole of Christendom. He had the liturgy approved for use, but it aroused vehement opposition among the clergy. They branded it as 'papal', and found a stronghold for their position in the duchy of John's younger brother Charles.

The King proceeded to fill episcopal sees with supporters of the new liturgy, which did not attract significant opposition in conservative Finland.

During John's reign, large numbers of young men left Sweden to attend the Jesuit universities in Poland and the Collegium Germanicum

in Rome. About a dozen of them were from Finland, including the sons of bishops Paulus Juusten and Ericus Erici. They found it difficult to return home, but then prospects of a brighter future emerged when Crown Prince Sigismund of Sweden, who had received a Catholic education, ascended the Polish throne in 1587.

This event raised hopes in some hearts, but apprehension in others. How would the Lutheran Church fare under a Catholic king? In Europe in the Reformation period, denominational conflicts were resolved according to the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*, whereby subjects had to follow the faith of their ruler. Duke Charles shared this view, but rather than changing Sweden's religion, his approach was to change its ruler. Before Sigismund had time to make his way to Sweden following his father's death, the Duke called a meeting of secular nobles and church leaders at Uppsala in March 1593.

This 'Christian Free Council and Meeting' decided that along with the Bible and the ancient creeds, it held to the Augsburg Confession. The meeting condemned King John's liturgy. Sweden was now a Lutheran kingdom. The final act of the Uppsala meeting was subsequently signed by almost all the kingdom's clergymen, leading nobles, officials and the towns and districts, with 2,167 signatures in all. Almost the entire Finnish clergy, a total of 250 clergymen, along with the bishop, imprinted their seal on the act in Turku at the Saint Henry's Day market in the summer of 1593. In the following year the Swedish church's first symbolic book, the *Confessio Fidei*, appeared in Stockholm. It contained all three of the ancient creeds, the Augsburg Confession, the text of the Uppsala Council resolution, and the collected signatures.

Sigismund was crowned in Uppsala in January 1594, but not before undertaking to guarantee freedom of religion for his subjects, based

on the decision of the Uppsala Council. Lutheran Sweden now had a Catholic king. According to Duke Charles and his supporters, the king should be a Lutheran. This led to armed conflict between Charles and his nephew. The church leaders were placed in a difficult quandary, in that they tried to be loyal to the legitimate king, but also to abide by the decision of the Uppsala Council. They also had little time for Charles's attachment to Calvinism, which had been declared a heresy.

Sigismund was defeated in 1598, and returned to Poland. The Diet cancelled its oath of loyalty. Charles now ruled the country, but did not accept the crown until 1604.

At the end of the Reformation period, the Finnish church had to find a line to follow amidst the twists and turns of royal church policy. It followed the Swedish lead for both the introduction of John's liturgy and its rejection, but also the example of the Wittenberg congregation. Attending Wittenberg university was still the primary objective for Finnish would-be students.

Uniformisation of the church

In the Swedish Age of Greatness (1611–1721), the state and the church were essentially the same entity, bound together by a particular form of religion. The Constitution of 1634 stated that 'unanimity in the practice of religion and correct worship is the firm foundation of legitimate, coherent and durable government', and in 1686 the so-called 'Carolingian Church Law' laid down in its first Article that all subjects must accept Lutheran doctrine. Anyone abandoning that doctrine was to be expelled from the kingdom and disinherited.

As well as being defined as false, the Catholic faith represented a political threat. Gustavus II Adolphus took part in the Thirty Years' War on the Protestant side. His cousin Sigismund was at that time King of Poland, and maintained his claim to the Swedish crown as well, which Gustavus's father had taken from him. Sigismund did, however, keep his country out of the war that was devastating Germany.

From the mid-16th century, Sweden seized some areas of territory from its neighbours, and set about trying to integrate them more closely into its own realm. In areas where the population of the conquered territory was already Lutheran, the common faith was used as a means of unification. This was the situation in Skåne, Halland and Blekinge, seized from Denmark in 1658, where the teaching of the Swedish Catechism gradually marginalised Danish in favour of Swedish. In the eastern conquered territories, in Ingria and Käkisalmi provinces, the situation was more difficult, since the majority of the population were of the Orthodox faith. Whereas in the areas taken from Denmark the strategy was to achieve linguistic uniformity through a shared religious faith, in the east exactly the reverse approach was followed, i.e. to convert the Finnish-speaking Orthodox inhabitants to Lutheranism. Religious bonds proved to be stronger than linguistic ones, however, and these conversion efforts were unsuccessful. This aspect of Swedish religious policy was also held in check by the growing strength of Russia at the end of the 17th century.

Finland was not conquered territory, but an integral part of the kingdom of Sweden, yet in spite of this the uniformisation policy was also applied to Finland. This included reforming the administration and institutions according to Swedish models; the policy on filling administrative vacancies; and favouring the use of Swedish.

Attempts were made to force the life of the Finnish church into the

mould of a Swedish diocese. This was achieved most successfully in the area of episcopal appointments. The Turku diocese's long succession of appointments from within its own ranks was broken in 1627, when Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna appointed to this office his former teacher and longstanding friend, the Nyköping Parish Pastor Isaacus Rothovius.

The new bishop did not exactly have a high opinion of his diocese. 'I am living among scorpions and barbarians', he wrote in a letter to Oxenstierna after having been in Turku for seven years, in the midst of a 'stubborn and thick-headed nation', whose language ('Slavonian gibberish') he found incomprehensible.

Rothovius took an uncompromising approach to church administration. 'What was new here was not so much the fundamental principles that he applied, but the unscrupulous and forceful manner in which he put them into practice', says Mikko Juva. The autocratic bishop also had a way of taking credit for any improvements made, thus disparaging his predecessors, and Finnish clergy in general. Rothovius also came into conflict with the Finnish-speaking citizens of Turku on linguistic issues. They complained that the bishop accused them of 'going to church merely for the sake of convention, and while there, merely repeating the word *Jumala* [God] once or twice'. This is the only recorded case of Rothovius allowing a word of Finnish to pass his lips. The bishop did however arrange for God's word to be expressed in Finnish, by establishing a committee on the translation of the Bible into Finnish, so that the first complete Finnish Bible was printed in 1642.

The next eight bishops after Rothovius were all Swedes except one, although five of them had served as professors in Turku before taking up episcopal office. The succession of Finns in Saint Henry's see resumed more than one hundred years later, with Carl Fredrik Mennander in 1757. Yet there were clearly Finns deemed to be suitably qualified for the

eastern diocese, since just one out of the 14 bishops appointed to tend the flock in the diocese of Vyborg was sent to the frontier town directly from Sweden.

According to the principles of the Reformation, preaching and teaching was to be conducted in the people's own language. This rule was observed even in the period when Sweden was a great power. Swedish-speaking clergymen were assigned to Swedish-speaking parishes, and Finnish-speaking clergy to Finnish-speaking parishes. The same applied to the bishop's benefice parishes. Rothovius had to switch from the larger, Finnish-speaking parish of Maaria to the smaller, Swedish-speaking Pargas. In contrast, Johannes Terserus and Johannes Browallius, both from Sweden, learned Finnish in order to be able to preach in their benefice parishes.

Towards the end of the Swedish Age of Greatness, the policy of linguistic uniformity became more deeply entrenched. Speaking before the start of the 'great wrath', Israel Nesselius, Professor of Rhetoric at Turku Academy, proposed the Swedicisation of the whole of rural Finland; the unique Finnish language could be preserved for the benefit of ethnographic research in a few communities on the Lapland frontier, he suggested.

Swedicisation aroused opposition above all among the Finnish-born university professors who later became known as the Fennomans. Daniel Juslenius defined as the aim of his doctoral thesis 'Old and new Turku' (1700) 'to make known certain matters regarding our wonderful fatherland and preserve their memory from being obliterated, and to protect it from the contempt of our enemies'. He proceeded to trace the origin of the Finnish language back to the confusion of languages at the Tower of Babel, and claimed that the ancestors of the Finns had come to Finland under the leadership of Noah's grandson Magog, and

had founded Turku. Juslenius claimed to know of half a dozen ancient Finnish kings, but he also complained of a lack of sources.

He also eloquently praised his own time:

> In the cathedral the services are conducted alternately in Finnish and Swedish: on Sundays in both languages, on Tuesdays and Thursdays in Finnish, and on Wednesdays and Fridays in Swedish.
>
> ...
>
> The Finns are calm and of mild disposition; they are a gentler people than all the other inhabitants of the Nordic countries. They are friendly and well-mannered, industrious, diligent and not afraid of hard work. They are suitable for any profession, not just for mechanical tasks and manual work, but also for intellectual work. They have an aptitude for languages, and the liberal and other arts, and they are of very sharp intelligence.

It was not the defence of Finnish excellence led by Juslenius that ended the attempts at Swedicisation, however, but rather the outbreak of the Great Northern War in 1700.

✠ *Spoils of war*

In August 1633 the Swedish army had besieged the German town of Osnabruck, and some months later the town surrendered. An agreement was signed with the victor, whereby the burning and pillaging normal in such situations was avoided.

But this came at a high price. The town was required to levy a fire tax, one third of which was the responsibility of the cathedral, which had great difficulty in coming up with the required amount. The bishop had to hand over the church's silver, to be weighed piece by piece. The

The Sifridus-chalice.
Photo: Porvoon seurakuntayhtymä

monetary value of each item was then calculated, and it was entered in an inventory.

The collection of the fire tax was supervised by the high commissioner responsible for the maintenance of the army, Erik Andersson Trana, originally from Vyborg. He was promoted to general's rank, and died the following year, leading his troops on the battlefield. Before that, however, he had arranged the seizure and removal to Vyborg cathedral of the Osnabruck cathedral's most precious treasure, a chalice made

around 1240 by the goldsmith Sifridus, and one of the most important European works of art produced in the central Middle Ages. When the Finnish eastern diocese was transferred to Porvoo after the 'great wrath', the chalice went with it. It is now the property of the Porvoo cathedral parish, and stored in a bank vault in the town.

The Swedes also understood the value of literary culture. While his headquarters were established at Mainz, chancellor Axel Oxenstierna appointed Johannes Terserus, later Bishop of Turku, to take charge of the city's library, and to select items that would make valuable additions to the library at the secondary school of his home town of Västerås. However, the ship carrying the books, along with other spoils of war, went down in a shipwreck.

Fate was kinder to the shipments commissioned by Queen Christine from the conquerors of Prague in 1648. 'You are requested to take into safe custody and forward to me the rarities in the library and found elsewhere in Prague; as you know, this is the only thing that really matters to me'. The choicest items, such as the *Codex Argenteus* gospel manuscript from the library of the 'Gothic emperor', Rudolf II and the colossal 'Devil's Bible', or *Codex Gigas*, were sent to Uppsala or Stockholm, but there were also plenty of crumbs remaining for the library of the recently founded university of Turku. Its founding collection consisted of a donation from the widow of the cavalry general Torsten Stålhandske in 1646. This included almost nine hundred volumes that he had picked out from the library of the learned bishop Martinus Matthiae in Aarhus. ✠

The clergy and the training of pastors

The main difference between Lutheran clergymen and their mediaeval predecessors was they were now permitted to marry. There had been sons born to priests in the Middle Ages, but they were illegitimate, and approval from the Pope was required for them to be able to follow in their father's footsteps. The Reformation ended the celibacy requirement, leading to the emergence of clerical dynasties. It was only natural that a parson would want to educate at least one son to inherit his office and residence; after some exiguous university studies, the young man would become his father's assistant, would then be promoted to the status of curate, and would eventually become his father's replacement and successor. In the absence of any suitable male issue, succession was sometimes arranged through marriageable female family members. In this case, the would-be pastor married his predecessor's daughter or widow. In some parishes the pastor's position was inherited in this way for several generations.

A Lutheran clergyman was supposed to be well-educated, but the reality of the situation often left much to be desired. Agricola complained of the clergy's poor knowledge of Latin and the reluctance to procure religious books in Finnish. During the Swedish Age of Greatness, the ruling classes in Stockholm did not have a high opinion of the level of culture and civilisation in the eastern reaches of the kingdom. After discussing a report submitted from Finland in 1638 by Governor General Per Brahe, in view of the fact that 'the Finns are a simple people, requiring education in theology and matters of government', the Swedish government made the decision to establish a university in Finland.

The 'Royal Academy of Turku' was solemnly inaugurated on 15 July 1640. The institution was modelled on the kingdom's main university at Uppsala. The university chancellor was responsible for safeguarding the government's interests. As the first holder of this position Per Brahe in particular had a considerable say in all the university's concerns. The vice-chancellor was the Bishop of Turku, who frequently intervened in operational matters.

The university comprised the traditional four faculties, and initially had a total of eleven professors. Theology had three, with one each for law and medicine. Philosophy, as the elementary faculty, had six professors.

There were around two hundred students. Some transferred from Uppsala to pass on their experience in various areas of student life to their Finnish counterparts. The university was a self-governing body, and the rector and professors had occasion to express condemnation of the students' rowdy behaviour, fighting in drinking houses, and messy love lives. Particularly severe offences led to expulsion, while for minor breaches the students had to serve a period of detention in the academy's cells.

In 1700, Professor Daniel Juslenius wrote his work 'Old and new Turku' in praise of his home town. In his view, the academy by the Aura was among the 'group of quite remarkable universities', whose graduates 'practise every branch of knowledge, and debate with a level of expertise and thoroughness equal to the best one could hope to find anywhere', and the students 'daily give due demonstration of their assiduity'. The university did in fact fulfil its task of educating clergy and officials, and was on a level commensurate with other European universities of the day. It introduced Turku to academic life, which previously only a few Finns had experienced in Uppsala, Tartu and continental Europe.

The first hundred years of the university did not leave any significant mark on the history of knowledge and science, nor was this its objective. Its role was to teach rather than to conduct research, and that teaching relied on existing authorities of long standing. In 1642 the Rector saw fit to remind his colleagues that 'each professor is to guard against presenting anything that is new, so as not to give the appearance of doing more or better than others, which would most certainly result in irritation and discord'. The professors during the Swedish Age of Greatness had no difficulty in following these instructions. Thus the achievements of the 17th century, as the great epoch of advances in the natural sciences, took a long time to reach the banks of the Aura.

In 1642 a printing press connected to the university was set up, which mainly published the students' theses in Latin, of a few pages in length. Meanwhile, that same year in Stockholm, the first full Bible in Finnish was printed. This was the most significant Finnish work to appear in the Swedish Age of Greatness period, and copies were soon to be found in every church in Finland.

The language of the university was Latin, but in 1748 the use of Swedish was permitted in theses on economics and in the natural sciences. Not until one hundred years later was permission granted for theses to be written in Finnish.

The chairs of theology were numbered from one to three. The first, or *primarius*, was responsible for teaching the Old Testament; the second, or *secundus*, covered the New Testament; and the third (*tertius*) taught the main points of dogmatics. However, more important than the subject areas was the hierarchical structure of the professorial positions. The holder of the most prestigious of them – the *primarius* – was also provost of the Cathedral of Turku, and the other professors of theology were also vicars of parishes in the immediate vicinity of Turku and chapter

members. Since the remuneration conditions in the faculty of theology were better than in other faculties, it was customary for professors in the faculty of philosophy to take holy orders and seek to advance their careers in the faculty of theology. From the apex of the structure, the office of *primarius*, it was only one further step up to the office of bishop.

This structure highlights the links between theology and the other disciplines, and between the university and the Church. Harmony between the church and the university was so much a matter of course that the statutes of the university made no reference to the Lutheran confession.

The close integration between the university, theology and the church is seen most clearly in the careers of the leading bishops of the Enlightenment period. Johannes Browallius was a friend and student of Linnaeus, and an eminent natural scientist, who began as a professor of physics, then moved across to the faculty of theology, and was finally appointed as bishop. His successor, Carl Fredrik Mennander, was also a student of Linnaeus. He began his career as an assistant in the faculty of theology, rose via a professorship of physics to a chair in the faculty of theology, from where, after a twenty-year academic career, he was appointed Bishop of Turku and later Archbishop of Uppsala. A third natural scientist and bishop, Jacob Gadolin, was married to Browallius's daughter, succeeded Mennander in the chair of physics, and established astronomy as an independent academic discipline at the university of Turku. His main goal was, however, to become bishop, and he was appointed to that office at the age of 68.

The same path from the faculty of philosophy to that of theology was followed by many in subsequent years, but not everyone took this course. The leading exception was the most famous of all the university's professors – Henrik Gabriel Porthan – who in spite of being very

well versed in theology, refused to take holy orders and transfer to the higher faculty. His most prominent students, Frans Michael Franzén and Jacob Tengström, did however follow this longstanding tradition, both eventually holding office as bishop.

The pastor's examination was taken in the cathedral chapter. According to the Church Law of 1686, the candidate had to be recognised as being of good character and morals, and had to have reached the age of 25 years before presenting himself before the bishop and the chapter. He would then be questioned 'in all those areas that are taught in the secondary schools and universities, and are necessary to the pastor for performing his office'. These included Latin, Greek and Hebrew, along with an elementary knowledge of the subjects taught in the faculty of theology. The theology subjects were knowledge of the Bible, dogmatics and church history. The candidate also had to participate in practical preaching exercises. The Church Law did not require candidates to have undertaken university studies, but these soon became the norm, although few had actually passed the master's degree examination. Only in 1848 was it made compulsory for the candidate to have passed the leaving examination in theology at a university.

✠ *The 1642 Bible*

Agricola's wish for the entire Bible to be translated into Finnish became a reality during the Swedish Age of Greatness. The almost 1500-page work, in folio, appeared in 1642, printed by Henrik Keyser in Stockholm. The translation committee, comprising two professors of theology at Turku and two vicars, dedicated the book to the 15-year-old Queen Christine.

The dedication emphasises that this 'sacred and precious book' has been translated from both the Hebrew and Greek texts on the one hand,

and Luther's Bible on the other. The translators also say that they have followed the new Swedish Bible, particularly in the foreword, explanations and indexes. They refer to 'earlier Finnish translations', but do not mention Agricola by name.

Nonetheless the committee did build on the foundation of Agricola's work, copying parts of his Bible translation almost verbatim, but adjusting the style and spelling. Another text used as the basis for the work was the Swedish 'Gustavus Adolphus' Bible published in 1618, although in the preface the translators make no reference to these sources.

Even in terms of its external appearance, the first Finnish Bible is the most imposing work in Finnish book printing history. It is illustrated with 166 woodcuts by the Hamburg artist Jakob Mores, which also feature in the Swedish Bible. De luxe copies also included four full-page copper engravings by Sigismund Vogel.

The translation and printing were funded by the resources of the Crown. Bound copies, printed on the best quality paper, were presented as gifts to the Queen and leading members of the kingdom's ruling classes. A total of 1200 copies were printed, two-thirds of which were made available in Finland. The Bishop of Turku ordered that every parish in Finland was to obtain a Finnish Bible. Individual pastors also purchased the work from the cathedral chapter. The large and imposing volume was intended for the church altar. The 'sacred and precious book' generally found its way into affluent peasant households only when clergy abandoned it, with its by now outmoded language, and switched to the use of the following edition of the Finnish Bible, printed in 1685.

Even after this the old edition was still for sale in the cathedral, so that at the end of the century ten copies could be shipped to Delaware to meet the needs of the colonists of New Sweden. ✠

Popular education

It was the church of the Swedish Age of Greatness that taught the people of Finland to read, true to the principles and motivation of the Reformation. Agricola's ABC Book was printed in three editions, and Bishop Ericus Erici was able to relate in his book of homilies in 1621 that many had learned to read from the copies of the ABC Book that had been distributed to them. However, the acquisition of literacy was generally a process completed over several generations. The Bible appeared in Finnish in 1642, but it was not designed for the use of ordinary folk. Their 'Bible' was in fact the catechism, and teaching its content so it could be repeated by memory was one of the main objectives of the church in the Swedish Age of Greatness.

This process of education was slow to bear fruit. Ericus Erici's visitations revealed much ignorance among the population, with many of those he questioned sitting before him, 'mute as a stone'.

In 1666, Johannes Gezelius the Elder published, in Finnish and Swedish, a reader for the education of the common people, entitled *Yxi paras Lasten tawara* (Finnish) and *Ett rätt barna-klenodium*, (Swedish), or 'A children's treasure-store'. It went on to be printed in more than one hundred editions, the last in 1914. In terms of its pedagogical structure, the work proceeds from the simple to the more difficult. The first part contains the main points of the ABC and catechism, without explanations, and the second part Luther's 'Small Catechism', with explanations. The third section, structured as a series of questions, discusses the content of the catechism in question and answer format, and the fourth part, entitled 'Words of instruction from the Holy Bible', is a systematically organised collection of sayings from the Bible.

The process of learning the catechism followed the structure of the work: the first step was to learn the first part off by heart; the second phase was learning the whole of Luther's 'Small Catechism'. No more than this could be expected from simple folk, and in practice this was an excessively ambitious aim with regard to Luther's explanations. The latter two parts of the catechism were more advanced, and already designed for individual, silent reading. Instruction was focused on the catechism explanations read out at the beginning of the service and those related to the day's sermon.

At the end of the Swedish Age of Greatness, the diocese of Turku had reached the point where ordinary people knew by heart the main tenets of the Christian doctrine. The next step was actually learning to read. Teaching children to read was mainly the responsibility of the parish clerks. The ability to read became widespread in the western parts of the country during the episcopal term of Johannes Gezelius the Younger (1690–1718), but in the eastern diocese only in the latter part of the 18th century.

Reading skills and doctrinal knowledge were assessed at parish reading meetings. In the late winter the parish pastor would travel through the parish from village to village, with church record books for entering the precise assessment of each person's level of proficiency. The same assessments were recorded in the report drawn up with the examinee, the 'reading note'. Gezelius the Elder tried to encourage a sensitive approach. Instead of embarrassing those who lacked confidence and ability, they should be admonished and counselled 'with mild rather than stern words'. This pedagogical advice was not always heeded, and some provosts and parish clerks could be excessively demanding. The renowned vicar of Pielisjärvi, Jaakko Stenius the Elder, once put a bride in the stocks on her wedding day when she was found to be unable to read.

In the words of Juhani, the hero of Aleksis Kivi's historical novel 'Seven Brothers':

> But even if we could deal with that lot from Toukola, we still have to face that day of judgement that comes around once a year, the day of that reading meeting. Devil take it! As Paavo Jaakola, that fine lad, used to say, 'Everything would be fine in this life with one less day a year, without that accursed reading meeting day!' Another time he said: 'It's not the pain, it's the shame', after getting his hair almost pulled out of his scalp for failing the test.... Is that right, I ask you? Take Mikko Kukkoinen, a big lad, solid as a spruce log, and as broad-cheeked as Granny Tuhkala's old cat, but not one of your gifted readers, when he was in the farm shed and heard the tinkle of the sleighbells of the pastors arriving on the morning of the reading meeting, he trembled like a lamb. That's how frightening that day is, that day of sweat and panic. And sooner or later, there's nothing surer, the provost will grab us and make us go, and from there straight to the stocks, that block of shame.

Juhani had many more fearsome tales of this day of judgement in his repertoire, and Aleksis Kivi had no need to make them up. He was merely passing on accounts of people's experience, as handed down from one generation to the next.

✠ *The Old Hymn Book*

The first hymn book in Finnish appeared in 1583, but singing in church was initially limited to a few hymns that the congregation learned by heart. Even at the end of the 17th century, Johannes Gezelius the Younger had occasion on his episcopal visitations to threaten to fine those who laughed at people 'singing out of a book'. The 'Old Hymn Book', which

appeared in 1701, became a book widely known and used by the entire population. It remained in use for almost 200 years, going through more than 150 editions. Three print runs were published in the 1740s in Halle for Finns living under Russian rule in Ingria and Old Finland. Prior to the campaigns of the Bible Society in the 19th century, the Bible was found only in wealthier farmhouses, but the hymn book was on the bookshelf even in humble cottages.

The 'Old Hymn Book' contained almost the entire existing Finnish hymnody: 413 hymns in all. But there was also much more packed into the pocket-sized book, forming a veritable library within a single volume. The contents were as follows:

1. Calendar and timeline
2. Hymn book
3. The Gospels and Epistles
4. The Finnish mass
5. Service book
6. Luther's 'Small Catechism'
7. Athanasian creed
8. The passion of Christ
9. The destruction of Jerusalem
10. Prayer book

The timeline section provided historical information, starting from the creation of the world. It was kept up to date – for example the 1875 edition referred to the Crimean War and the construction of the railway from Helsinki to St Petersburg.

The hymnbook melodies were published separately in 1702. ✠

✠ *Confirmation class*

'What is the most precious thing in life?', a provost supposedly once asked the girls attending confirmation class. 'Getting married and not being left as an old maid', they replied. This frequently repeated anecdote illustrates the popular view of the significance of confirmation instruction, as the gateway to adulthood. After completing the class and receiving communion for the first time, the young people would be entered in the parish register as 'confessed and single'. They now had the right to enter into a Christian marriage, and could also be godparents.

The institution of the confirmation class grew out of the interviews conducted with those wishing to take communion for the first time. This evolved into the single-session classes held in some parishes in Ostrobothnia in the 1730s. The Turku cathedral chapter issued instructions on the matter in its circular of 1740:

> Since the ordinary people greatly despise Holy Communion, so that it has become a mere matter of form, the cathedral chapter deems it particularly necessary that the clergy should organise, for three or four months each year, a 'confirmation class'. By this means the people will learn in future to treat the most highly-esteemed Lord's Communion with respect. In confirmation class they will be taught the Christian faith and be told of the redemption of those who go to confession and take communion for the first time, and prior thereto have learned from the parish clerk or another person to read and repeat by heart the catechism.
>
> In those parishes which conduct a confirmation class, this has been shown to be extremely fruitful and beneficial. Parishioners are encouraged to submit to this, so that ideally no young person shall

attend confession and take communion before having attended confirmation class. At the same time, diligent efforts must be made to ensure that this form of examination is not merely a presentation of information, but rather has practical significance in the young people's lives. ✠

4

The Enlightenment and pietism

Under the shadow of the 'Great Wrath'

The sun set on Sweden's Age of Greatness at Poltava at the end of June 1709. Charles XII had led his armies deep into Ukraine, where they were defeated by the superior Russian forces. The King escaped to Turkey, but most of his soldiers who had survived were imprisoned in Siberia. In autumn of that year the Finnish parishes received a letter from their bishop recounting the disaster, together with a prayer regarding the defeat, already translated into Finnish.

But worse was in store. The Bishop of Vyborg, David Lund, broke off his visitation in April 1710 to attend the Diet in Stockholm, and was then not able to return to his diocese, which was now under Russian rule. The Swedish flag was lowered on Saint Olav's tower in the castle of Vyborg on 13 June, and the following day the town council received Tsar Peter the Great himself and handed him the keys to the town on a silver platter.

When the occupying Russian armies were approaching Turku in 1713, Johannes Gezelius the Younger and his cathedral chapter fled to Stockholm. Both bishops urged their clergy to stay, but their actions sent a different message. And indeed the Council of the Realm had given them permission to leave, provided that one clergyman remained in each parish.

It was mainly the higher clergy who fled. In addition, around thirty clergymen were killed or deported into captivity by the occupying forces. The situation was worst in Karelia, where as many as half of the clergy were no longer there to perform the duties of their office. On the islands of Åland almost the entire population fled, with only one functioning parish remaining. Of a total of around six hundred pastor's positions in the country as a whole, more than one-third were left unattended. In most cases some of the parish's clergy left and others stayed, so that the church was able to keep operating even in a situation of oppression.

The leadership of the Turku diocese who had fled to Stockholm was not able to do much to improve the state of affairs in the occupied territory. It did, however, take steps to make appropriate arrangements for the welfare of clergymen who had escaped from Finland to Sweden and other refugees. It tried to rebut the scornful remarks aimed at the refugee clergy. They were accused of being 'bad shepherds', who had deserted their flock. The chapter defended itself by creating a narrative of the wretched lot of the clergymen who had stayed behind, claiming that they were unable to do much for their parishes, and instead had to spend their time transporting the enemy from place to place and collecting its taxes.

The situation was particularly chaotic in the early days of the occupation. In August 1711, a bailiff of the Lappee jurisdictional district described the position as follows:

> Throughout the district everything is for the most part in ruins; the enemy have taken the people's horses, clothes and anything else they can find. Those who just managed to escape with their lives are not in their homesteads, but in the forests or ravines, living with the wild beasts. They have not received any consolation even from the word of God, and for a long time have not had access to the instruments of salvation, since the houses of God have largely been destroyed, and all the bells have been taken away.

The Russians stole the church's valuables, whipping and torturing Lutheran pastors to make them reveal where the church's treasures were hidden.

The commanders of the occupying armies gave assurances that they would leave the country's religion unchanged, but required both clergy and peasantry to swear an oath of loyalty to 'his High Imperial Majesty'. They needed the clergymen's help in legal matters, particularly for tax collection, and tried to arrange for the pastor's positions left unattended to be filled.

The clergy during these precarious times were not always the best of their calling, and collecting taxes provided an opportunity for filling their own pockets. However, the judgement later passed by the parishes on their pastors who shared their severe ordeal was generally a thoroughly positive one.

An interim cathedral chapter, the consistory, was established in Turku in 1717. Its leadership was entrusted to the provost Jacob Ritz, born in Vyborg, who had been a parish pastor in Ingria and knew Russian. Clergymen from Turku and the surrounding districts were appointed as the other members.

The interim consistory had the task of ensuring a sufficient supply of pastors for the parishes. Ritz initially gave students permission to preach; some of them had already been travelling around from place

to place during the war, preaching in parishes where there was no pastor. They were not however authorised to administer the sacraments. In January 1720 the synod passed a unanimous resolution on the ordination of pastors, 'because the extreme emergency and the sorry state of affairs in the parishes so requires'. The consistory organised an examination, and the following day the provost of the cathedral consecrated 24 candidates. In all, Ritz is known to have consecrated around fifty clerics, most of whom were appointed as curates.

Ritz's consistory did everything possible to get the life of the church back to normal, pending 'a most welcome change of the times', in the words of the provost, who later observed the peace negotiations in 1719. The consistory continued to operate for some time after the peace, since the new bishop, Herman Witte, while consecrated in October 1721, did not arrive in Finland until the following summer.

In the Peace of Nystad of 1721, Sweden lost the Käkisalmi province and South-East Finland. Johannes Gezelius the Younger had died in Stockholm in 1718, and his brother-in-law and Bishop of Vyborg, David Lund, now became Bishop of Växjö. Finland's eastern episcopal see and the Vyborg secondary school were transferred to Porvoo in 1723.

The church in the Age of Enlightenment

Autocracy had led the Swedish kingdom into ruin and destruction. The Constitution of 1720 transferred the focus of political power to the Diet. The King could exercise power only through the intermediary of the Council of the Realm, and the Council was bound by the decisions of

the Estates. The clergy was the second in the hierarchy of four estates. The bishops were members as of right, and the other representatives were elected by the dioceses. The most influential Finnish member of the Diet was the vicar of Kokkola, Anders Chydenius, an expert in financial policy and a supporter of free trade. He opposed censorship, and drew up the initial proposal for Gustavus III's Freedom of Religion Law.

The clergy's status as one of the estates governing the kingdom enhanced the prestige of the higher clergy in particular. The vicar chaired the parish meeting, and along with church affairs was also responsible for popular education and the care of the poor and the sick.

A master's thesis written in Turku in 1762 argued that medical practice was part of the pastor's role on the basis of Christ's example: 'Thus it is fitting for the pastor, with the help of nature and instruments provided for the purpose, to expel his own and his parishioners' diseases'. Anders Chydenius persuaded suspicious peasants to bring their children to be vaccinated against smallpox, and based his health care instruction on the Bible.

Pehr Kalm, a former student of Linnaeus who had gained an international reputation while travelling in America, on his return became professor of economics at the university of Turku. More than one hundred scholarly theses were written under his supervision. In his thesis 'What the pastor can do to benefit the economy', he wrote as follows:

> At christenings, weddings, funerals and on other occasions they have the opportunity to talk with their parishioners about everything that is economically beneficial. The peasant would like to believe what the pastor says. Yet mere words and exhortations are not enough; the peasant is so firmly attached to his longstanding habits that it is difficult to convince him to relinquish them. More benefit is to be gained by good examples.

Kalm proceeded to take his own advice, taking holy orders and setting up a kitchen garden at the parsonage in his benefice parish of Maaria. Even though only a few of the seeds he had brought back with him from the New World bore fruit, Kalm became known as 'the father of Finnish horticulture', and many pastors, and their wives and housekeepers, came to view the model garden at the residence in Maaria.

Another former student of Linnaeus, the professor of physics and later bishop Carl Fredrik Mennander, said in 1751 that 'many clergymen have started to diligently cultivate their plots of land. Most peasants also want to devote their work and efforts to that which is economically beneficial, once they have seen, particularly at parsonages, that this is successful.'

Previously unknown useful plants, particularly potatoes, appeared for the first time in pastor's kitchen gardens. New cultivation techniques, such as the drainage of swamps, were also introduced in the farms and gardens of parsonages.

Parish life in the Enlightenment period continued on the path that had been opened up in the Swedish Age of Greatness period. The prestige of the parish meeting was enhanced by the democratic spirit of the time. Even though the vicar chaired the meeting and generally introduced all the items on the agenda, the meeting did not necessarily have to agree to his proposals. Dispensations from church burial, the purchase of an organ and other new initiatives were generally driven by the vicar. Changes tended to involve new obligations and burdens, and accordingly the peasants were generally opposed to them. At the beginning of the period the meeting would try to achieve unanimity in such cases, but the majority principle gradually became established, particularly when a royal decree of 1759 laid down that a parish meeting was to decide on liens and encumbrances 'either unanimously or by a majority of votes'.

✠ *Anders Chydenius's autobiography*

In 1780, Anders Chydenius, as the vicar of Kokkola, wrote an autobiography for the Royal Science and Literary Society in Göteborg, which had approved his application for membership. At that time Chydenius was fifty years of age. He had been a clergyman for 26 years, and had sat as a member of two Diets, expressing views on numerous economic issues and questions of freedom of religion and freedom of the press.

He describes some of his activities as vicar as follows:

> In my first years as a pastor I began to practise the profession of physician among the children of my parishioners, in accordance with the book issued by the Royal Medical Office on the curing of children's diseases.
>
> I started to investigate chemistry for the preparation of remedies; I ordered some medical instruments and raw materials, and I set up a small laboratory, in which I prepared *mercurius sublimatus corrosivus*... inter alia, and made all kinds of remedies from these. I eagerly read the Anatomy by the honoured physician Rosen von Rosenstein, and also started performing surgical operations, and especially I began to operate on the eyes and eyelids of those with eye diseases.
>
> I took great interest in agriculture. I set up my new curate's residence in 1753 at Alaveteli, located on barren, stony ground on the banks of a waterfall. There I cleared a small vegetable plot and garden; I surrounded this with a stone fence, made an embankment and constructed a dam, which conveyed the water from the waterfall to the garden. I cultivated a watery swamp, first into a field, then a meadow, and I formed tracks. I took a special interest in rearing the Spanish sheep breed, and ordered some full-grown rams and ewes

Anders Chydenius.
Photo: A drawing by Ida Falander (based on a copper drawing by J. F. Martin), in E. G. Palmén' *Anders Chydenius* (1903) / SKS

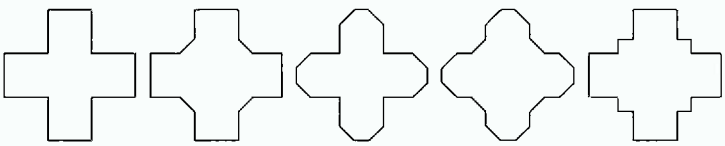
from Lieutenant-Colonel Boije, and cared for them according to the manual he has written, with such great success that the cloth made from the wool of these sheep can compete with our finest Swedish cloths.

At my parsonage I cleared a new field from stony ground, and built a stone fence around it, had built a large cowshed and a stable for ten horses, all from grey granite, and a brewery and baking room of brick. ✠

Wooden churches in Finland

Wood was the most common construction material in the churches built in the 17th to the 19th centuries. In 17th century Ostrobothnia, the 'block pillar' structural design came into widespread use. The splice points of the wall beams on the exterior and interior were placed inside hollow timberwork pillars. The structure was completed on the interior by attaching transverse beams to the tops of the block pillars. Of over one hundred churches built using this technique, only 11 have survived. One of the most impressive of these is the church in Tornio, constructed in the 1680s.

From the 1700s, the cruciform church became the most commonly used ground plan. The construction project could draw on the building skills of local peasants. Enough space was left in the church to accommodate pews for the congregation. If the condition of the structure deteriorated or the parish population grew, it was a relatively simple matter to build a new, larger church. The diagram alongside shows five typical ground plans of cruciform churches.



Rectangular cruciform church, 12 sides; Cruciform church with inside oblique corners, 16 sides; Cruciform church with outside oblique corners, 20 sides; Cruciform church with both inside and outside oblique corners, 24 sides; Double cruciform church, 20 sides.

The church in Tornio.
Photo: Arto Kuronkoski

The 24-sided church of Ruovesi
was completed in 1778.
Photo: Arto Kuorikoski

It increasingly became the practice to paint the interior walls in bright colours to create a greater sense of space. This made it possible to employ the skilled workmanship of church painters to complete the church interior. Mikael Toppelius was the best-known of these craftsman painters of churches in the north of the country. During his long career he painted almost thirty churches in Ostrobothnia and Savo. The largest section of the ensemble of some 40 works in the church in Haukipudas is a painting of the Last Judgement. The Haukipudas paintings were executed in 1774–1779.
Photo: Arto Kuorikoski

The historic church at Petäjävesi, built in the 18th century, is a UNESCO world heritage site. Its wall beams have been left in their natural state, apart from some decorative ornamentation.
Photo: Arto Kuorikoski

Pietism and revivalism

Johannes Gezelius the Younger arrived in Frankfurt as a student in September 1673. There he met the chief pastor Philipp Jakob Spener, who had started conducting private devotional meetings, or 'conventicles'. These cells, which Spener referred to as *ecclesiola in ecclesia*, or 'little churches within the church', were intended to result in a renewal of the church, and, under Spener's leadership, became the characteristic feature of the revivalist movement, or pietism. Gezelius became acquainted with the conventicles, and after returning home started a correspondence with Spener. Spener sent him his reform program *Pia Desideria*, published in 1675, which Gezelius translated into Swedish. He never had the text printed, however, since the revivalist movement had begun to bear some fruit that was not to his liking. The 'little churches' as described by Spener were not always remaining within the church, but were rather turning against it. Radical groups wanted to leave 'Babylon', i.e. the corrupted established church. It was in this form that pietism arrived in the kingdom of Sweden, and Gezelius disowned it.

The Finnish precursor of radical pietism was Lars Ulstadius, a pastor who had resigned out of difficulties with his religious belief. He was a dirty and unkempt figure, with long hair and a beard, and dressed in rags. One Sunday in July 1688 the peace of the church service in Turku was shattered when Ulstadius interrupted the sermon, shouting that 'Luther's teachings are false, and the Holy Spirit is not with the pastors'. As he was being thrown out, his clothes were torn off, and he ran naked down the central aisle of the church, shouting 'now that I am naked, it is time to reveal the pastors' shame'.

The prophet was given the opportunity to present his teachings before the temporal as well as the religious authorities, and was sentenced to hard labour in the Smedjegården prison in Stockholm. He remained there for the rest of his life, initially in irons as a convict, later working as a blacksmith, and almost a free man for the last ten years. He died in Stockholm as the honoured radical patriarch of the pietists in 1732.

It was not merely Ulstadius's breach of the peace in church that prompted such a harsh penalty. The prophet also had his disciples, and according to Johannes Gezelius the Younger, there were also some learned and notable men who 'imagined God had sent him to do something out of the ordinary'.

Gezelius and his cathedral chapter did their utmost to bring Ulstadius and his separatist group back into the church, but all in vain. So it was that Spener's one-time acolyte became an implacable opponent of pietism.

Even the moderate form of pietism drew this vehement rejection from the church. Its main stronghold was the University of Halle, founded in 1693, and its organiser was the university professor August Hermann Francke. He founded the orphanage around which the Francke Foundations were set up: schools, a teacher training college, a hospital, a dispensary, a printing house and a bookshop. In 1727, the year of Francke's death, there were over three thousand people working in his foundations. The Halle form of pietism received the Prussian government's support, and its influence extended to Russia and the German population of the Baltic provinces.

The Halle version of pietism was also strongly supported by the officers of Charles XII's army who had spent more than ten years in captivity in Siberia after Sweden's defeat at Poltava. Francke wrote to

them, and sent them medicines and devotional literature and schoolbooks. The school founded by the prisoners in Tobolsk followed the Halle curriculum.

After the conclusion of peace, the former prisoners brought their spiritual revival with them. Its influence was particularly strong on the estates in Nyland where the officers settled.

The Swedish temporal and spiritual authorities tried to erect a defensive rampart against pietism. It was seen as a threat to the uniformity of religion, and to the very organisation of society. In 1726 the Diet approved a decree called the 'Conventicle placard', which remained in force in Finland up until 1870. It prohibited private devotional meetings, 'because they could lead to disturbances and lead simple folk into heretical beliefs'.

The decree was not actually applied in Finland until the time of the revival movements of the 19th century. Instead the church leadership adopted an understanding attitude towards a popular revivalist movement that sprang up in Finland Proper in 1756. This movement spread quickly to Satakunta and Nyland. It manifested itself as ecstatic outpourings of emotion, convulsions, shaking, and weeping and wailing. Women saw visions and heard voices; some even dared to preach under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

Behind the revival movement lay not only church teaching of very long standing, but also the spread of devotional literature among the common people. This included a work of English origin, Arthur Dent's 'The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven', which appeared in Finnish in 1732.

In 1759, Bishop Carl Fredrik Mennander summoned eighteen clergymen before the cathedral chapter from the districts affected by the revival movement. According to the minutes of the meeting:

the cathedral chapter asked whether errors had been observed in the teachings of these revivalists, or if there was anything aberrant in the way they lived. In reply it was affirmed that no heretical opinions had been observed. Some admittedly tried to accuse them of spiritual pride, and of despising others who were not in the same spiritual situation as themselves. However, the parish pastor of Laitila believed this resulted from the fact that they had started to withdraw from the less desired society of others, amusements, games and pleasures, and instead spent their time in devotions. This was easily construed as pride and looking down on others. The parish pastor of Eura added that the understanding of Christian doctrine had greatly increased among the revivalists.

Accordingly, the clergy was urged to act with leniency and caution in this matter. In no circumstances are they to treat the revivalists harshly; their efforts must rather be aimed at retaining their trust, and teaching them God's word to the extent that this is necessary.

They endeavoured to follow the bishop's instructions, which proved to be wise counsel. Revivalism had arisen on the basis of the church's teachings over the centuries, and the clergy did in fact succeed in moderating the ecstasy phenomena and in keeping the revivalist movement within the bounds of church-based Christianity.

The radical approach of revivalism was somewhat tempered by Moravianism. It did not become a widespread popular movement as it did in Estonia, where Zinzendorf himself paid a visit. Through the influence of missionaries in several towns, the movement gained new adherents in middle and upper class circles, but it gradually merged with the popular revivalist movement. The Moravian 'Songs of Zion' (*Sions sånger*) were translated from Swedish into Finnish in 1790, and this became the songbook of a pietist-oriented revivalist movement.

✠ *The church in Old Finland*

'Old Finland' is the name used for the region of south-eastern Finland that was ceded to Russia in the Peace of Nystad (1721) and Peace of Turku (1743), and incorporated in the Grand Duchy of Finland in 1812. From the Russian point of view, the latter was 'new Finland', which had become part of the Tsarist empire three years earlier.

Both the Peace of Nystad and that of Turku left in place the laws, Lutheran confession and church organisational structure from the time of Swedish rule. The 21 parishes left on the Russian side of the border after the 'great wrath' formed the diocese of Vyborg, and the 19 parishes incorporated in the Tsarist empire under the Peace of Turku made up the diocese of Hamina. They no longer had their own bishops, but the cathedral provosts consecrated pastors, chaired synod meetings and conducted visitations in the same way as bishops did elsewhere. The entities corresponding to the former cathedral chapters were the consistories, comprising the pastors of the diocesan city and neighbouring parishes.

The highest church administration authority was a body established in Saint Petersburg for the Baltic and Old Finland regions under the name *Kaiserliche Reichs Justitiae Collegium der Esth-, Liv- und Finnländischen Sachen* (Tsarist Imperial College of Justice for Estonian, Livonian and Finnish Affairs). The College exercised control over the Empire's Lutheran, mainly German-speaking, parishes. Dealings with the college had to be conducted in German. In the diocese of Vyborg, German was the language of the clergy, and the consistory used German in its circulars. Swedish remained the working language in the diocese of Hamina, but correspondence with St Petersburg had to be conducted in German.

Eight parishes were split by the border defined in the Peace of Turku. One-third of Mäntyharju, including the church and parsonage,

belonged to Russia, with two-thirds of the parish remaining in Sweden. The parish took its instructions from the cathedral chapter of Porvoo, and in 1753 changed over to the new-style calendar, meaning that feast days were celebrated eleven days earlier than elsewhere in Old Finland. On the other hand, Russian state public holidays, such as name days of members of the Imperial family and anniversaries of the Tsar's ascent to the throne and coronation, were celebrated according to the old-style calendar. The situation of dual nationality was also reflected in the church prayer seeking God's protection for 'all Christian authorities, in particular the two powers under whose authority this parish belongs'.

After the 'Great Wrath', Old Finland suffered from a shortage of pastors. The dioceses of Turku and Porvoo were ready to offer assistance in this respect, since they feared that the Orthodox Church could add to its flock from those left without a Lutheran pastor. The Russian administration did in fact agree to accept pastors from western Finland. More than one-third of the clergy of Old Finland came from the Swedish side of the border, and of these, almost three-quarters were from the diocese of Turku. Not all of them were the best of their calling – according to Gunnar Suolahti, those moving east included 'the worst of the clergy, such as would scarcely have been given a testimonial regarding their learning and conduct, drunkards, quarrelmongers, men on the path to perdition, running away from past misdeeds and trying to start afresh'. The shortage of pastors compelled the consistories of Vyborg and Hamina to turn a blind eye to these faults. On the other hand, the new arrivals helped to maintain and strengthen ties with the west. The fact that nine out of ten of them had received their university education in Turku had the same effect.

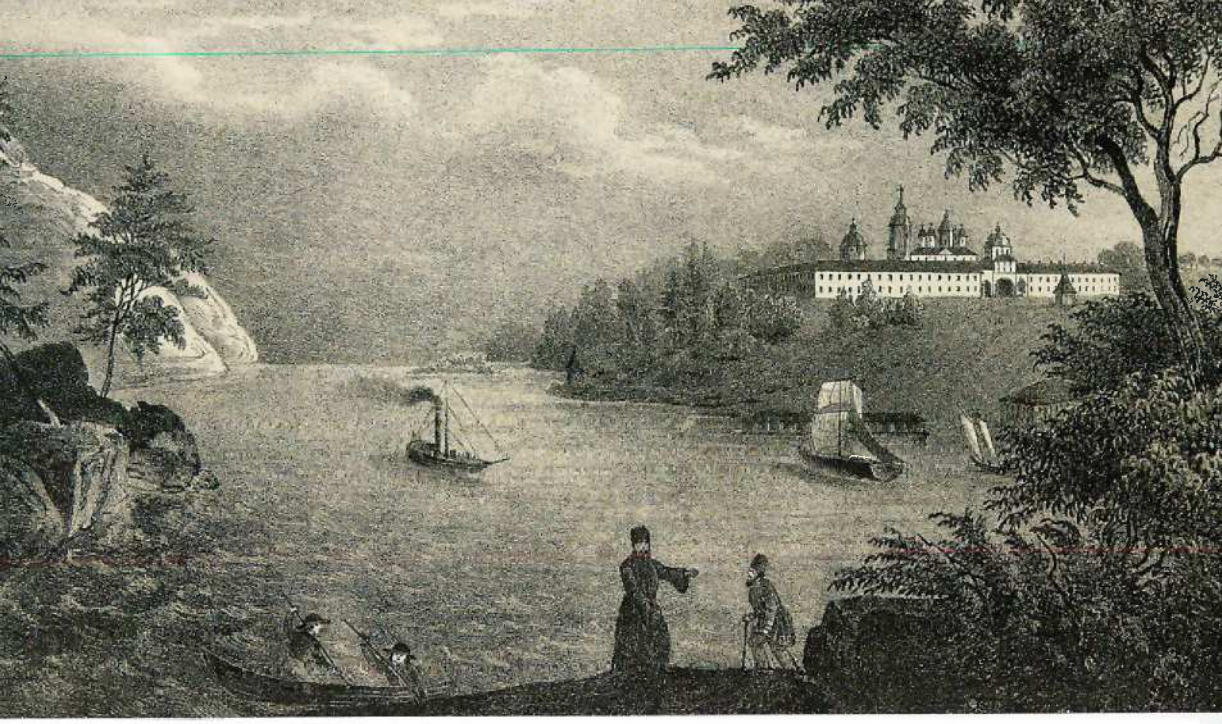
Via the Baltic provinces, the view of Christianity characteristic of the Enlightenment, with its emphasis on reason, also reached Old Finland. In 1805 a new church service book was published for the Lutheran

parishes in Russia, focused on teaching chastity and virtue to subjects who had the good fortune to be living in the best country in the world. The Hamina consistory criticised the service book for the lack of any reference to the confession of sins and the divine nature of Christ. It did however agree to translate it into Finnish, and ordered its introduction for use at Easter 1809. Its use remained limited, however, because of the change of regime just three years later.

These westward ecclesiastical links simplified the integration of Old Finland into the Grand Duchy of Finland in 1812, back into 'greater Finland'. Both the Vyborg and Hamina dioceses were now abolished, and integrated with the diocese of Porvoo. They changed over to the new-style calendar, but no change was required for the church prayer for the Russian imperial family, since it had already been incorporated in the service in the former Swedish Finland. ✠

The Orthodox Church in Finland during the time of Swedish rule

Christianity was established in Karelia around 1300, and in 1323, the boundary defined by the Peace of Pähkinäsaari dividing Karelia also became the wall separating the eastern and western churches. The inhabitants of western Karelia and Savo now came under the authority of the Catholic church, whereas the Ladoga region of Karelia became a stronghold of Orthodox Christianity, centred around two monasteries: Valaam, founded probably in 1329, and Konevitsa, established in 1393. The monasteries came under the authority of the Archbishop of Novgorod. The monks were not strictly bound to the monasteries, and were



Valaam monastery. Litograph by Pehr Adolf Kruskopf 1852.
Photo: Museovirasto

able to engage in missionary activities and work in the parishes. The ecclesiastical centre of the area was Käkisalmi, where four monasteries were in existence in 1500. The first record of a parish-based structure is also from that year. At that time there were seven parishes, or *pogostas*.

Most of the clergy were from Russia, and Karelian Orthodoxy remained Russian in terms of the ecclesiastical language. This became a stumbling block when, after long years of war, the province of Käkisalmi was incorporated in the Swedish realm under the peace treaty of Stolbova of 1617. At that time there were 48 Orthodox churches or chapels in the province. Valaam and other monasteries had been destroyed during the war.

Under the peace treaty, the peasants and priests were to remain living in the area, and the authorities set about converting the Orthodox population. According to instructions issued by the Bishop of Vyborg, they were to be gently guided towards an 'awareness of the truth' by means of

teaching and good examples. To this end, Luther's catechism was translated into Russian, and the catechism in Finnish produced by the Bishop of Vyborg was published in Cyrillic script. The conversion project was an abject failure. Orthodox believers began to leave for Russia, and during the 1658–1660 war, even the Orthodox population that had stayed on the Swedish side of the border sided with the enemy. After the conclusion of peace around two-thirds of the population of the Käkisalmi province fled across the border, to be replaced by Lutherans coming from the west. Nine Orthodox churches and four chapels remained in 1685.

In the Peace of Nystad, almost all the area inhabited by Orthodox believers was transferred to Russia. Only two parishes in North Karelia remained on the Finnish side of the border. Their priests came from Russia, but they were under the authority of the Bishop of Porvoo. There was no longer any question of conversion, but the bishop and chapter took an interest in the teaching provided to Orthodox believers. Efforts to have the Orthodox priests conduct their preaching and teaching in Finnish foundered on their inadequate knowledge of the language. Nor were there any Orthodox texts in Finnish available, and the translation of the Orthodox catechism made by the Lutheran provost of Sortavala in 1780 did not prove popular.

The majority of Karelian Orthodox believers remained on the Russian side of the border. The destroyed monasteries of Valaam and Konevitsa were rebuilt. Valaam was once more a flourishing institution at the end of the 18th century, with some sixty resident monks.

The greater part of the Karelian Orthodox population of Old Finland were Finnish-speaking rural inhabitants, but the towns and garrisons also attracted some Russian speakers. Orthodox believers belonged to the Russian state church. Vyborg became the local centre of the Orthodox religion, even though the bishops resided in Novgorod and Saint Petersburg.

The church and the Sami population

The area inhabited by the Sami population comprised the entire Arctic area of the Nordic countries. These nomadic peoples, who spoke a language related to Finnish, were not aware of, and did not observe, any national borders. Sweden's last Catholic archbishop, Olaus Magnus, introduced the exotic people living in 'Ultima Thule' to a European readership in 'History of the Nordic peoples' (1555), which was translated into several languages. Olaus had himself travelled to Tornio, but also drew on ancient Greek and Roman sources. The notion that people living in a cold climate were stronger and more courageous originated from Aristotle. Olaus also describes their pagan religious beliefs:

> They worship the sun that shines on them all summer long, and offer sacrifices to it, since it has brought light instead of darkness and warmth instead of the prodigious cold. For the same reason they worship the moon, since when the sun is hidden during the winter they can trust in its light. During the new moon they perform their daily tasks by the light of the brightest stars, even during daytime hours, which is augmented by being reflected from the glimmering white snow.
>
> They bring their gods various forms of sacrifice, the bones of the beasts of the forest, whales and large fish which they hunt and catch. They do not however burn these bones in the summer (lest they be seen to be mocking the light and warmth of the sun), rather only when the terrifying winter sets in do they burn them, all gathered together, in honour of the gods.

The parishes of Tornio and Kemi were established already in mediaeval times, the former under the diocese of Uppsala and the latter under that

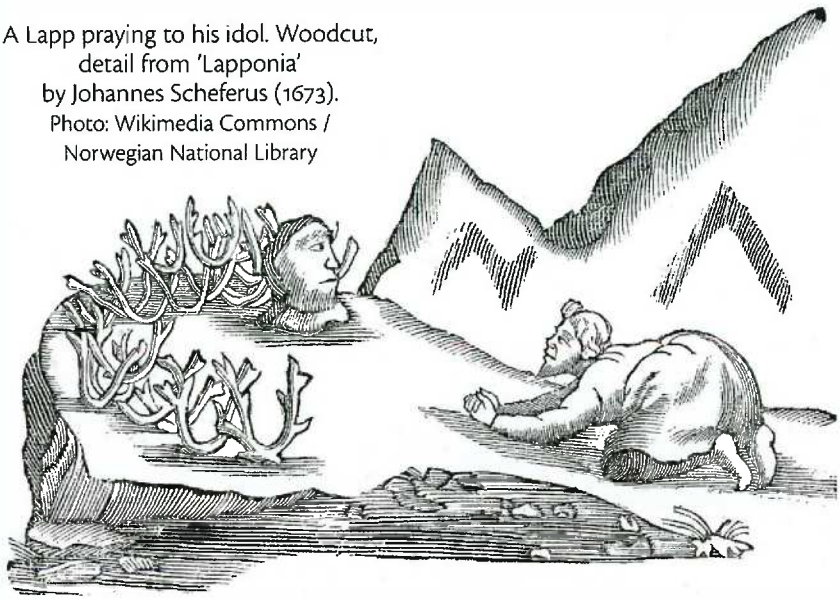
of Turku. The missionary period for Kemi Lapland began in earnest in the mid-16th century, when Gustavus Vasa placed the area's ecclesiastical affairs in the hands of the vicar of Kemi.

It is estimated that already by the 1620s the majority of the Sami population of Kemi Lapland had been baptised. A Sami language ABC book was printed in 1619, and a service book appeared in 1647, which also contained a catechism, hymn book and prayer book.

Isaacus Rothovius's longest visitation was to Kemi in 1639, and he dispatched his curate to continue to Sodankylä and Inari. The latter reported that the Sami inhabitants were 'for the most part well able to read the articles of the Christian faith and their evening and morning prayers in Finnish'. Shortcomings identified were that the pastors only rarely went to Lapp villages, and there were no churches. Churches were constructed in the middle of the century at Kemijärvi and Inari, and at the end of the century in Kuusamo and Sodankylä.

The Christian faith was still being taught on a relatively superficial level, partly because the pastors in Lapland were often more interested in collecting the wages due to them, and because these were so low they also had to engage in commercial activities. They had not learned to appreciate the folk culture, instead dealing harshly with the people's belief in magic. The stern Kemi vicar Gabriel Tuderus describes how on one occasion in Kuusamo in 1672 he gathered together a large number of shaman's drums on an island, and burned them. Shaman's drums were also vigorously replaced with the catechism elsewhere in Finnish Lapland, so much so, that not a single specimen remained in the country's museums.

After the Great Northern War, efforts were undertaken to make religious instruction more effective by establishing some schools in Lapland. The first of these was set up in Utsjoki in the 1740s, but it soon ceased operating. The instruction provided by itinerant catechists was



A Lapp praying to his idol. Woodcut, detail from 'Lapponia' by Johannes Scheferus (1673). Photo: Wikimedia Commons / Norwegian National Library

found to be more effective. This model originated from Norwegian Lapland, and was applied in Sweden from the mid-18th century. The catechists were teachers of Sami origin themselves, paid by the state but under the authority of the cathedral chapter. They had been taught by pastors since childhood. They travelled around the parish, going from house to house to teach children literacy skills and Christian doctrine. And from the second half of the 18th century, Sami parents started to entrust the education of their children to the catechists. But as elsewhere, the main priority was to ensure that their children would be able to graduate from confirmation class, and become eligible to marry.

This system proved successful, and it remained in place into the 20th century. The first female catechists were appointed to take up their duties at the end of the 19th century, and later formed the majority. Many prominent leaders of the Laestadian religious movement, such as Juhani Raattamaa, who was taught by Laestadius himself, were catechists.

5

The church under the Russian Tsar

An independent Finnish church

The Russian army marched into Turku on 23 March 1808, behind a military band. Bishop Jacob Tengström received the commander-in-chief, Friedrich von Buxhoevden, at the town gates, greeting him in French. Two months later, Tengström, and after him the teaching staff of the university and the clergy of the diocese, swore the oath of loyalty to Tsar Alexander.

The war was still in progress, but the Swedish army had retreated to Oulu, and at the beginning of April the fortress of Sveaborg surrendered. The bishop saw that resistance was futile, since rebellion would inevitably result in slavery and bloodshed. 'It is a matter of indifference what government we are subject to, as long as we can live in security and peace', Tengström, as a man of the Enlightenment, had previously taught.

Security and peace was precisely what the Tsar who had conquered Finland offered the country. He felt able to support a church and clergy

Jacob Tengström.
Photo: Wikimedia Commons / Daderot

that preached loyalty to the authorities and maintained the social peace. At the Diet held at Porvoo in 1809 after the conclusion of peace, Alexander I agreed that the constitutional laws from the time of Swedish rule would remain in force, and he maintained the privileges of the estates and of the Lutheran faith. The empire ruled over by the Orthodox Tsar already included followers of multiple creeds: Catholics, Lutherans, and subjects of other Protestant denominations. Indeed, the laws from the period of Swedish rule and the Lutheran faith had remained in place in Old Finland, which Russia had conquered earlier.

The Bishop of Turku was the chairman of the clerical estate in the Diet, and a trusted confidant of the Tsar. He was rewarded accordingly, for while the war was still in progress he accepted a high Russian order, and in the Diet the Tsar presented him with a bishop's cross embellished with diamonds. His children were elevated to the nobility on the basis of their father's merits, and his oldest daughter was appointed lady-in-waiting to the Tsarina.

Finland was allowed to celebrate the 300th anniversary of the Reformation in 1817, with festivities held in Turku cathedral, at the university, and in parishes and schools, over a period of five days. A medal struck in commemoration of the festivities shows the maid of Finland, and above her the inscription AUSPICIIS FELICIS MAGNIS (blessed under high protection). As a sign of the Tsar's approval, 26 churchmen were awarded the degree of Doctor of Theology.

The Finnish church leadership had committed itself to the new regime. Tengström began his circular of March 1817 as follows:

> Our most all-merciful Lord and Emperor oversees, with touching and indefatigable care, what is truly best for his Finnish subjects, and above all the nurturing of good habits, chastity and God-fearing ways in our growing nation, as the only sure guarantee of the peace and stability of society.

Another sign of this protection was the Tsar's decision to elevate the diocese of Turku to an archdiocese, and its bishop to archbishop. The main reason given for this was that the archbishop would be required, as in the Swedish church, to chair the clerical estate in the Diet. A more important, if unstated, consideration was that the two Finnish dioceses' links with Sweden had been severed. They were no longer part of the Uppsala church province, nor were their bishops now consecrated in the Uppsala cathedral.

Medal struck in honour of the anniversary of the Reformation.
Photo: Museovirasto

The Finnish church was now an independent entity. The freshly appointed archbishop was asked to chair committees whose task was to create a new manual, catechism and Church Law. They were expected to demonstrate that Finland now decided on its own church affairs – under the patronage and protection of the Tsar. The committees did eventually come up with a decision, but only in the latter part of the century.

The Tsar also showed flexibility in his attitude towards the university, no longer called the Turku Royal Academy, but the Imperial Alexandrine University. It was allocated new professorships and a large new building. The year after the Fire of Turku in 1827, Finland's university, dubbed the country's 'heart', relocated to Helsinki, the new capital. The archiepiscopal see remained in Turku, but professors were no longer able to be members of the cathedral chapter. The professors of theology who moved to Helsinki also had benefice parishes, but these were not among the country's best. And indeed, several professors very soon resigned from the university to take up parish pastor's positions in more prestigious locations.

The Tsar's flexible approach in his policy towards the church has to be seen against the background of his own religious beliefs, which were influenced by inter-denominational revivalist Christianity. These beliefs also became channelled into the international policy context when he formed the Holy Alliance with Prussia and Austria in 1815. The three powers undertook to govern their respective countries with a fatherly hand and in the spirit of the Christian faith, and to support one another against all manifestations of revolution, and thus to preserve peace in a Europe recovering from the effects of the Napoleonic wars.

✠ *The Finnish Bible Society and Finnish Evangelical Society*

Finland's first religious associations were established under protection from the Tsar. John Paterson, a missionary from the British and Foreign Bible Society, arrived in Turku in 1811, and received support from both secular and church authorities for his project. Permission was given for the holding of the foundation meeting in the following year at the residence of the Governor General. The meeting was formally chaired by the Governor General, but in practice Bishop Tengström presided.

Branches of the Society were set up in provincial capitals. The board members, as at Turku, included local officials, clergymen and other prominent citizens. In Vyborg, for example, the members included the provincial governor, and the secretary was the town clerk, Jaakko Juteini.

The Bible Society clearly filled a need, since the most recent edition of the Bible, the 'Old Church Bible', published in 1776, was expensive and had been printed in insufficient numbers. The first New Testament published by the Society appeared in 1815, followed two years later by the entire Bible. These were initially sold at low prices, and later in some cases distributed free of charge. The parishes gradually started the practice of distributing the New Testament as a confirmation class graduation gift.

In 1817 Paterson received the degree of Doctor of Theology, during festivities to celebrate the anniversary of the Reformation. On the same occasion another Christian association was established – the Finnish Evangelical Society. Its model was the Stockholm Evangelical Society, founded in 1808, for the purpose of disseminating revivalist tracts. One

A Moor convert to Christianity. Titel page of a tract published by the Evangelical Society in 1827. Photo: Kansalliskirjasto

Kriſtityksi kääntynyt Muriani,
Nimeltä
Simeon Wilhelm,
Joka
Londoniſa kuoli 17 wuoden wanhana 29 päiwä Elo-Kuuſa 1817.
Ruotſin Kielestä Suomeksi käännetty.

Hänen Elämäkertanſa Hiſtoria.

Monda tulewat Idästä ja Lännestä ja pitää Abrahamin, Iſakin ja Jakobin kanſſa taiwan waldakunnaſa iſtuman. Matth. 8: 11.

Kriſtilliſet Yſtäwät! Tämä Nuorukainen, jonka kuwan täſä näette, oli Afrikaſta kotoſin. Hänen

of its first prominent figures was Henrik Renqvist, later to become a revivalist leader, who disseminated thousands of booklets, and also made translations into Finnish.

The Evangelical Society was chaired by the archbishop; its activities were in the style of revivalist Christianity, its tracts were mainly along pietist lines, and distributed primarily by clergy and parish clerks. The Society published over thirty of these tracts in the years up to the Fire of Turku, with print runs sometimes exceeding 20,000 copies. ✠

The authorities, the church and revivalist movements

Tsar Alexander's brother and successor, Nicholas I (ruled 1825–1855) also displayed flexibility towards the church, but applied a firmer and more autocratic paternal hand than his predecessor.

Like other European rulers, he feared that the spirit of revolution was smouldering under the ashes, and could burst into flame at any time. The key figure of the Holy Alliance, the Austrian foreign minister Clemens Metternich, managed to convince him that the religious movements had links to revolutionary forces.

The flow-on effects of the July Revolution of 1830 in France were felt in Poland and Lithuania, which rose in rebellion. Meanwhile calm prevailed in Finland. In the new capital of the Grand Duchy, the 300th anniversary of the Augsburg Confession was celebrated, and as part of the festivities the foundation stone of a new main church was laid. The Tsar funded its construction, and it was named the Nikolai church. In his address, the Bishop of Porvoo, Johan Molander, painted a gloomy picture of the Catholic church, which, he claimed, had changed the teaching of the Gospel 'into an instrument for doing violence to people's consciences, disturbing all peace in the home and the community, excommunicating monarchs and staining thrones in blood'. The fruits of correct Lutheran teaching, on the other hand, were willing compliance with the authorities and their commands, he said.

Part of the task of ensuring such compliance fell to the bishops, who were appointed by, and loyal to, the Tsar. The two archbishops appointed by Nicholas after Tengström were both second-ranked in the shortlist of candidates, and Molander, whom he appointed as Bishop of

Porvoo, was in third place on the list. On the establishment of Finland's third diocese, in Kuopio, in 1850, the first bishop appointed by the Tsar was again the second on the list. All these bishops were seen as stewards of the Tsar's interests, and they had the special task of monitoring the growing revivalist movements, which put the emphasis on individual religious convictions and called the church's culture of uniformity into question.

The Tsar appointed Erik Gabriel Melartin as archbishop in 1834. In 1836, Melartin undertook a visitation lasting more than six months to familiarise himself with his diocese, taking him as far as Tornio and Kemi. At the parsonage in Kalajoki he met the leaders of the Ostrobothnian revivalists, the Ylivieska curate Jonas Lagus and a parish assistant in Nivala, Nils Gustaf Malmberg. He listened with tears in his eyes as Lagus told of the position of the pastors accused of 'sectarianism', and he urged them to go to the revivalists' meetings to offer instruction and encouragement. The archbishop also said he had no objection to the collection of funds for missionary work.

In the following year Melartin went to Saint Petersburg, where Tsar Nicholas gave him to understand that the archbishop was the steward not of the interests of his own clergy, but those of the Tsar. His main task was to maintain the social peace, that is to supervise the stable and orderly conduct and structure of the church. And this was precisely what happened. On the archbishop's advice, the university rejected the application of the revivalist Lars Stenbäck as a university lecturer. The revivalists' newspaper was suppressed, and their pastors were transferred to other locations.

The 'conventicle placard' of 1726 was still in force, even though it had not been invoked for many years. Now it provided temporal power with an instrument for interfering with the activities of the revivalist

The Kalajoki district court. Watercolour by Onni Oja, 1940.
Photo: © Kuvasto 2016

movements. The revivalists were accused of conducting illegal devotional meetings. In 1838, five clergymen and 17 laymen were charged with this offence before the District Court of Kalajoki, among them Paavo Ruotsalainen (1777–1852). Four clergymen were suspended from office for six months, and fines were imposed on the lay defendants.

The Kalajoki district court case and similar trials attracted such attention that the Senate issued an order whereby the supervision of revivalist movements was to become an internal church matter.

Differences between the views of the revivalist pastors and other clergy also came to the fore at the 1842 synod in Turku. The opening service held on 12 June that year was attended by 202 churchmen from every corner of the diocese, from as far away as Utsjoki. Among the clergymen of the younger generation present for the occasion were Lagus

and Malmberg, who had been convicted before the Kalajoki district court, and had just been suspended from their duties. Also in Turku for the synod was Fredrik Gabriel Hedberg, who had been transferred from Paimio to the post of pastor at the provincial prison of Oulu.

On the third day of the meeting, archbishop Melartin raised the matter of 'meetings for the practice of devotion', initiated by 'certain of our brothers, inspired by warmly felt religious emotions'. They had however 'caused problems and disturbances, and had been tried and punished before the temporal courts'. The archbishop acknowledged the positive intentions of the revivalist movements, but expressed his concern that the young and inexperienced could go to extremes; 'this does not appear to be so much a matter of the consistency of their articles of faith with the Bible and the creeds, as of the manner in which these are used and applied in public preaching and speaking, and on private occasions', he said.

Melartin sought the advice of 'our more senior brothers', which the latter were more than willing to offer. The vicar of Muhos endorsed a counsel of Gamaliel approach, and the provost of Vihti suggested that religious controversies should not be brought before the temporal courts. The provost of Tammela, Nils Tolpo, an older clergyman from the Gustavian era, reminded those present of the horrors of the French Revolution. He saw the revivalists as forcing their way:

> not only into all public educational institutions, but also into family life, there too spreading their poison, destroying students' confidence in their established teachers, the trust of children and servants in their parents and masters, and also stirring up indifference and antipathy in married couples – all as a natural consequence of the fact that teachers and masters, probably without cause in most cases, are branded as sinful. This being the case it is easy to see that this

> is the most direct path to the complete destruction of the whole of society and the entire prevailing order, for this is precisely how the way has been prepared for many violent revolutions, how they are regrettably still being prepared now in the greater part of Europe, and it is natural that governments should keep a close eye on them.

The discussion grew heated at times. The revivalist clergymen expressed themselves fully and frankly, making themselves and their cause well known to all the clergy of the diocese. The meeting did not reach any consensus on the attitude to be taken towards their activities 'at odds with the usual way of doing things'. As the archbishop had said in his introductory remarks, the argument was not about what they believed, but rather the way in which they carried out their work as pastors. The older clergy represented the Enlightenment-focused upper class culture from the Gustavian era, whose way of life was criticised as worldly and sinful by the revivalist clerics. The higher clergy did not look favourably on their younger colleagues' crude identification with the common people and the popular support they were receiving. They particularly disapproved of the disobedience and lack of respect displayed by their young colleagues towards the ecclesiastical and temporal authorities.

But the future belonged to the young pastors. Indeed, by the time of the next synod this term no longer applied, since the diocese synod did not meet again until 17 years later, during the term of the next Tsar and the next archbishop. The aged provosts who had been present at the 1842 synod were now in their graves, as were Jonas Lagus and Nils Gustaf Malmberg. One of the preachers at the 1859 synod was Fredrik Gabriel Hedberg, recently promoted to the status of provost, and another three pastors who had disrupted the proceedings in 1842 with their interjections, now held responsible positions in the synod.

✠ *Four revivalist movements*

During the period of Finnish autonomy under Russian rule, the plethora of revivalist movements crystallised into four major groups. Clergymen were among the leaders of all of them. This was one of reasons for the movements remaining within the church, in contrast with the situation in Sweden, where the revivalist movements became the origin of free churches.

Rukoilevaisuus (Prayer's movement)

The *Rukoilevaisuus* movement had its roots in a popular revival movement in South-West Finland, which then became reactivated at the start of the 19th century in the 'leaping revival'. It was under lay leadership. Long devotional meetings and a great deal of kneeling and praying were the hallmarks of the movement, and the reason for its name. It was influenced by Henrik Renqvist, who was based in Sortovala in eastern Finland, but it did not acknowledge him as its leader.

The movement was limited to northern Finland Proper and Satakunta. Along with the insistence on kneeling to pray, they were distinguished by holding to the Old Church Bible, the church service book of 1693, and the old hymn book.

Heränneäisyys (the Awakened)

The background to *Heränneäisyys* was an ecstatic popular revivalist movement that sprang up in the 1790s in northern Savo. In the 1810s it came under the leadership of Paavo Ruotsalainen, an autodidact peasant from Nilsiä. He was not an eloquent preacher, but rather a spiritual counsellor, who kept the movement together by travelling from place to place. Ruotsalainen's concept of religious faith emphasised belief as something

to be awaited and longed for. In spite of being unworthy of God, man had to long for certainty that God would justify the sinner.

In the 1830s, Ruotsalainen collaborated with the Ostrobothnian revivalist movement led by younger members of the clergy, including Jonas Lagus and Nils Gustaf Malmberg. Ruotsalainen was the most authoritative figure within this group. The movement also spread into student circles, and successfully overcame class boundaries, bringing the educated classes and peasants closer together.

The movement underwent a crisis in the 1840s, on the departure of the clergymen in the group around Fredrik Gabriel Hedberg. It also proved impossible to form a union with the revivalist movement led by Henrik Renqvist, which disapproved of the fact that Ruotsalainen drank alcohol. A further split occurred when a number of clergymen left the movement after Ruotsalainen's death, instead becoming supporters of the 'Bible theology' movement of Professor Johan Tobias Beck in Tübingen. This became an influential trend in theology, without gaining the status of a popular movement as such.

Evankelisuus (the Evangelical movement)

Fredrik Gabriel Hedberg (1811–1893) was a revivalist pastor. For this reason, the cathedral chapter appointed him as pastor at the Oulu prison, and then on the island of Raippaluoto. His encounter with Luther's writings led him to dissociate himself from the movement led by Ruotsalainen. He emphasised not the expectation of faith, but its possession and the certainty of salvation.

Hedberg was joined mainly by revivalist clergy from southern and south-western Finland. The evangelical movement so created also enjoyed support in Swedish-speaking parishes. It was only in the 1870s that Evangelism became a genuinely popular movement.

Lestadiolaisuus (Laestadianism)

Lars Levi Laestadius (1800–1861) was the vicar of Sweden's northernmost parish, Kaaresuvanto. His mother was Sami, and he also learned Finnish. In the 1840s, his sermons generated revivalist sentiments that then spread into Russian Lapland on the eastern bank of the Tornio river. The movement was distinguished by its doctrine of confession and absolution granted by the community of believers. Off-putting features of Laestadianism for many were its policy of strict separation from the rest of society, and the ecstatic outpourings of its followers at their meetings. ✠

6

The churches during the emergence of a Finnish civil society

Church reforms in the 1860s

The stagnation and immobility that had characterised Finnish society started to break down in the mid-1850s, coinciding with the accession of a new Tsar. Public debate on convening a Diet began to bear fruit. During celebrations of the coronation of Tsar Alexander, the Vice-Rector of the University F. L. Schauman said in September 1856 that Finns aspired to develop their nationhood, language, laws and social institutions. In particular, they sought the ability to deliberate on matters affecting society through representatives under a structure according to the constitution inherited from the time of Swedish rule. These statements drew criticism from high officialdom, but nevertheless heralded such a change, since a Diet was convened in 1863, after an interruption of many decades.

A time of greater freedom and change was dawning. The church played a part in many socially significant legislative reforms. Primary schools were established, which reduced the church's responsibilities as the provider of people's education. The education administration function was transferred from the cathedral chapter to an education board established in 1869, which included a department responsible for primary schools. Local government was separated from parish administration, and an autonomous administration system was created for rural municipalities. Another element of constitutional reform was the passing of a new Church Code.

Separate administration structures for local municipalities and church parishes

The vicar had been the chairman of the parish and church meetings, and was responsible for the common concerns of the parish and the municipality. During the first half of the 19th century there was a growing number of these concerns. Along with the affairs of the church, the vicar also had to organise matters relating to popular education and the construction and maintenance of grain warehouses, fire safety, health and the care of the sick, and care for the poor. He had to conduct an extensive correspondence not only with the cathedral chapter, but also the warden (*kruununvouti*), the rural police chief (*nimismies*), the county governor (*maaherra*) and other officials. The landless population was growing and other social changes were increasing the burden of tasks relating to looking after the poor in particular. Under the Care of the Poor decree issued in 1852, the vicar was obliged to chair the municipal board administering this activity.

Most of the vicar's time was spent on matters that were not strictly parish concerns. In the words of a letter from the pastors of Lemu parish:

> The pastor is two-thirds municipal administrator, one-sixth tiller of the soil, and barely one-sixth a clergyman ... He scarcely has time to cast a fleeting glance at his God and Bible, at his own soul and those many souls that he has nonetheless solemnly sworn to lead to the kingdom of Heaven. Accordingly, it is little wonder that spiritual activities are in such a state, and their results so paltry and minute.

Discontent was growing in the late 1850s. Social problems could now be more openly debated. The revivalist movements valued the spiritual duties of the pastor's office in particular, and accordingly were ready to relinquish the clergy's participation in municipal administration.

The Tsar endorsed the proposal of the Finnish Estates with an imperial decree in 1865, whereby local government was now to be in the hands of the municipality rather than the parish. Every parish in rural areas became an independent unit, and the municipal boundaries also provided the basis for the territory of the parish. Parent parishes and their subordinate (chapel) parishes, given partly independent status by a decision of the Senate, could become separate municipalities. The highest decision-making body in the municipal administration structure was the *pitäjänkokous* (municipal meeting), while the *kirkonkokous* (parish meeting) was responsible for parish administration. In large parishes, separate municipal administrations were quickly formed, but in sparsely populated areas, parish and municipal affairs were combined up until the early years of the 20th century. The definition of municipal and parish boundaries remained under the authority of the Senate.

Primary schools and education administration

The reform of education administration began in the 1840s. At the same time efforts were made to extend the availability of primary education

with Finnish as the medium of instruction to the children of peasant families. The task of planning this development was assigned to Uno Cygnaeus, whose career had included a period working as a pastor in Alaska. He had studied and absorbed the pedagogical principles of the Swiss educationalist Pestalozzi, which he adapted for the Finnish context.

For the new primary school system, instruction was to be provided in the pupils' mother tongue, which in most cases meant Finnish. The aim was to achieve the balanced development of the pupil's intellectual and physical abilities, focusing not on the rote learning of texts, but rather on ensuring that the pupils could read and fully understand the material, and apply it in practice. For primary schools it was necessary to organise special training programmes at teacher training colleges. The schools planned by Cygnaeus were 'higher primary schools' (*yläkansakoulu*), covering only the senior classes. Accordingly, the prospective pupils were expected to receive some initial instruction either at home or in a basic-grade primary school (*alkukoulu*).

The Primary School Decree was approved in 1866, before the first teacher training college had been established, in Jyväskylä. The Education Board came into operation in 1869. The administration of secondary schools was transferred from the cathedral chapter to the Board's secondary schools department, and a primary schools department was also established.

The church and schools now had completely separate administration structures. Primary education was conducted in the vernacular, and at a high level of quality. Basic primary school education was not organised at this stage, so in rural areas there was still a need for catechism reading meetings and itinerant schools conducted by parishes.

A Church Law for the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church

In this new situation it was possible for F. L. Schauman to embark on the drafting of a Church Law in 1854. His aim was to follow the principle of a Christian state, meaning that several Christian churches could operate within the same country. Accordingly, the law was designed to refer to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Grand Duchy of Finland and its members. This was a step in the direction of freedom of religion, so that citizens could have the right to leave the state church system and choose a new denomination. However, the option of not choosing any denomination was not a valid one according to Schauman's way of thinking, since in his conception of society it was specifically a Christian state that represented the highest form of society. The mandatory religion rule of the Swedish state remained in force as a special provision. This meant, for example, that to take up an official position the candidate had to present a baptism certificate.

For some years freedom of religion remained incomplete, since the Diet rejected a proposed Nonconformist Law that it had before it simultaneously with the Church Law proposal. It was feared that it would also apply to Finnish members of the Orthodox Church. The Nonconformist Law also had opponents among conservatives in the Finnish Estates.

The objective was to make the church legally and administratively independent. To enable the church to run its own affairs more independently than before, the General Synod (*kirkolliskokous*) was established. Its membership included the bishops and representatives of state institutions on an *ex officio* basis, and elected lay and pastor members from each diocese. Since the structure was to be built from the foundation upwards, the elected lay members outnumbered the

pastors. Schauman's boldest idea was that the church should independently draft its law, which the General Synod would submit directly to the monarch for approval. The Diet was not however prepared to accept such a diminution of its legislative power. The outcome was a compromise: the General Synod retained the exclusive right to initiate legislation on Church-related matters, but a new Church Law or amendments to the existing Law could not come into force without scrutiny and approval by the Diet. Neither the Diet nor the monarch had the right to change the content of the proposed legislation, which had to be approved or rejected without amendment. The independence of the church was further ensured by the General Synod being given the right to approve other key ecclesiastical books without consulting the Diet. These included translations of the Bible, the hymn book, the catechism and the church service book.

The existence of the General Synod clarified the relationships between church and state, since it also made it possible for the church to express a view on secular legislation connected with its activities. This primarily comprised legislation on marriage, taxation and schools. The system remained unchanged as regards the executive arm of government. The cathedral chapters were still agencies maintained by the state, and the government made crucial decisions on diocese and parish boundaries. The monarch and the Senate still played a significant role in the executive administration of the church at the highest level. During the autonomy period in Finland the political conditions were not in place for creating the church's own central administration, and accordingly the Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Senate, later the Ministry of Education, was the body that drafted and submitted most decisions on Church central administration matters for a final decision by the Senate Economic Department or the Tsar.

✠ *Frans Ludvig Schauman, Professor of Practical Theology and Bishop of Porvoo*

Frans Ludvig Schauman (1810–1877) was born in Maaria, as the son of a doctor. His academic career began in 1838 at the University of Helsinki, where he was an assistant professor of theology and pastor of the theological seminary. He became a professor of practical theology in 1847, and was appointed Bishop of Porvoo in 1865.

In his doctoral thesis on the foundations of religious faith (1837), he arrived at a definition of faith that was at odds with both Enlightenment and idealist conceptions. The Christian faith was not just social morality and an intellectual schema, or emotion-based mysticism, in his view. It was rather a distinctive and independent religion based on biblical revelations. And theology was an independent discipline based on that religion.

Frans Ludvig Schauman.
Photo: P. C. Liebert / SKS, arkisto

Schauman's most significant scholarly works are devoted to the administration of the church and its distinctive nature, clearly differentiating it from any other administrative culture. His views were based on the thinking of Friedrich Schleiermacher. He argued that the church was not independent and different from the state solely in terms of its organisational structure. The most important

basis for the difference was the characteristic nature of religion and a religious community. The state was based on a natural collective entity formed by the nation, whereas the essential feature of the church was the relationship of its members to a supernatural God. This difference required the church's internal independence from the state. The church's own organisation was to be constructed starting from the membership, building from the base upwards, rather than being focused on clerical offices. The self-government of local parishes provided a good starting point for developing the church's administrative structure, he believed. But the church lacked a legislative body of its own, and was required to perform a multitude of temporal tasks that were foreign to its nature. At this point Schauman's ideas coincided with the views of representatives of both liberals and the revivalist movements. ✠

The church undermined by new ideas

Schools as the focus of conflict

The opportunities available for continuing social reforms fell away again in the 1870s, as the grip exerted by imperial officials tightened. The conservative and paternalistic approach again gained ground, in the church as elsewhere. The imperial authorities made loyalty to the Tsar the top priority for the appointment of bureaucrats to all cultural administration positions. The new head of the School Administration Board was Casimir von Kothen, an official of German origin, but known for his support of autocratic rule by the Tsar and his pro-Russian sympathies,

who was familiar with both the Finnish and Russian administrative cultures.

New primary schools were set up in smaller numbers than expected. The finances of the municipalities were again in a parlous state after the years of food shortages at the end of the 1860s. The Primary Schools Decree left municipalities to decide on the timing of the foundation of primary schools. Parish clergy were generally in favour of the establishment of schools. However, the former parish schoolmasters, the parish clerks and church ushers encouraged the peasantry in their reluctance to pay for the use of progressively-minded schoolmasters. The church was also watching the operation of the schools with a critically cautious, and at times suspicious, eye.

In 1879, V. Pettersson, a vicar planning a primary education system to be run by the church on the basis of the Old Church school system, claimed in an article in the *Uusi Suometar* newspaper that among the clergy there were still some who believed in the old ways, and did not have high regard for primary school education. They suspected that the new schools were increasing the prevalence of negative ideologies among the people, such as free thinking and rationalism. This view was shared by a representative of the farmers' estate in the Diet, the estate owner Agathon Meurman, who said that in rural areas there were suspicions that 'the primary school teachers graduating from the teacher's training college in Jyväskylä had been taught bad habits, and were proud and conceited'.

The concerns held in the conservative wing of the church proved to be unfounded, since the primary schools and their teachers upheld Christian moral values. The development of the primary school system was one of the central aims of the Fennoman movement. Meurman in particular, as one of the pro-Finnish peasant leaders, emphasised

the importance of cooperation between the church and the primary schools. He believed it would be most unfortunate if the schools were to disseminate knowledge that undermined the people's trust in their pastors. Indeed, the parish clergy deserved credit for supporting the cause of primary schools, he said.

The high expense of primary schools prompted some pastors to develop itinerant schools to serve as an elementary school underpinning effective primary education. Parents were often not able to provide such elementary instruction in the home, and therefore itinerant schools had to fill the gap by offering this early education, they argued. G. Z. Yrjö-Koskinen as head of the Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs supported the development of itinerant schools organised by the church, meaning that the state authorities were also supportive of the church continuing its efforts in this area. The activity of the itinerant schools was most widespread in the early years of the 20th century, after which elementary-grade primary schools began to become more common. The itinerant school teachers had previously received their instruction from local parish clerks. A teacher training college was now set up for them in Hämeenlinna. The last church itinerant schools were still in operation in some rural areas in the 1920s.

Social structure of the clergy

The prestige of the pastor's calling began to change when competing alternatives started to become available. Economic growth began to open up attractive employment opportunities for those who had gained an academic qualification. The number of reasonably well remunerated administrative positions was also on the rise, so that young people embarking on university study could see future prospects outside the church to a greater extent than before. From the middle of the century

a real shortage of pastors emerged. The situation began to improve after the 1870s, but the socioeconomic background of the new generation of pastors was different from that of their predecessors.

Theology became an independent discipline at the university from the mid-19th century, so that on completion of school education it was possible to take the theology examination on its own. Given the increasing number of 'modern' secondary schools focusing on modern languages and mathematics, theology students now tended to have a less thorough knowledge of classical languages and philosophy than before. An improvement in this situation was achieved through a reform of the examination system requested by the then Rector of the University, whereby from the end of the 1880s, students wishing to take the theology examination first had to pass a preparatory examination focused on these subjects.

The decline in classical education was not the only change, however. The most important ecclesiastical offices had previously been occupied mainly by the sons of upper-class families who were Swedish-speaking or bilingual. The pastors being consecrated now were increasingly from Finnish-speaking peasant homes. They tended to come from the provinces where the revivalist movements had been influential. This meant that there was a major shift in the socioeconomic background of the clergy from the end of the 1860s to the 1890s. It was also at this time that the numbers of students from working-class backgrounds started to grow. The church, through its clergy, acquired a new image. It began to identify with the Fennoman cause, and specifically, more often than in the past, with its conservative branch and the associated revivalist style of Christianity.

The clergy and the Fennoman movement

Up until the end of the 1860s, the liberal cultured clergy had set the tone in the clerical estate in the Diet. But by the mid-1880s, this had become the estate from which the Fennoman movement was drawing its main support. The movement had high regard for the values and social structures passed down from previous generations. Because of this it also attracted support from the peasants' estate, a majority of whom were Fennomans.

The liberals and Swedish speakers tended to highlight the stable constitutional system inherited from the time of Swedish rule and economic independence as an end in and of itself. The Fennomans, on the other hand, believed that social participation should be a civilising process, aimed at the people's spiritual and intellectual growth. Popular education and culture were therefore a cause that was close to their heart. The Fennoman movement drew its inspiration from the German philosopher Friedrich Hegel's idealistic conception of history and society. Its representatives among Finnish officials were J. V. Snellman and G. Z. Yrjö-Koskinen.

From this perspective, the church and the Christian faith had a clear and active role to play. The idealistic approach was characteristic of Yrjö-Koskinen in particular. In his interpretation, God was the centre of all life and thought. God's presence in nature, human minds and history was an all-vivifying force. A nation could be compared to a growing tree or human being, whose essence comprised a physical and a spiritual element. For the external, or physical, element to be healthy, the organism, or the internal spirit, also needed to be rooted in a healthy values base.

In the opinion of many clergymen and Christian laypeople, this view offered a natural opportunity to couple the Christian faith and the

church on the one hand with a system for improving the lot of society and the population on the other. The same idealistic vein can be seen running through the works of Aleksis Kivi, the pioneer of literature in Finnish, the ballads of the national poet, J. L. Runeberg, and the literary works of Zachris Topelius.

Emergence of voluntary organisations

At the end of the 19th century a number of ideological movements sprang up, in which the intelligentsia usually had a leading role. The influence of these movements penetrated more deeply than previously into the awareness of ordinary people, and they have therefore been called 'popular movements'; their growth into mass movements in Finland generally occurred only as from 1905, the year of the general strike. At first they were organised on a sporadic, local basis, so their membership numbers were generally modest in comparison with their public profile. More important was the fact that in Finnish society they represented a new way of thinking, based on activism and engagement of the citizens themselves. The process of forming an association was simplified in the 1880s, but in ensuing decades the authorities again tightened their grip. In many local communities the first organisation to be formed was the volunteer fire brigade. Other typical popular movements included the temperance movement, the women's movement, and worker education, youth club and workers' movements.

Only in a few exceptional cases did the new ideologies promoted by the popular movements adopt an anti-Christian focus. They did however depart from the normal pattern of the hidebound estates-based society, and they came into conflict with the church in a way that had not been seen previously in Finland. Where several associations looking for members were operating in a particular town, they soon also started to

compete with the local parishes, even without meaning to, since the best time to hold activities was on Sundays and feast days. Many urban parishes found that the voluntary fire brigade was holding practices in public during the times of church services, and that other associations were also holding their meetings on Sundays.

Status of women

Literature in Finnish began to address social issues, in the same way as was happening in the Scandinavian countries at this time. This brought the status of women into the spotlight of public attention in the 1880s, and became the foundation for the formation of a women's movement. The writer Minna Canth called for the spiritual and intellectual liberation of women, as a primarily ethical imperative, and for a root and branch transformation in girls' upbringing and education: 'Let us give women enlightenment along with freedom, so that they may develop a strength of control from within that is greater and more estimable than the former outer coercion – a strength that will be no longer a purely negative force, but also a productive one'.

The church did not reject all the aims of the women's movement, since it saw it as essential that such social issues should be addressed. Many of the clergy also

Minna Canth.
Photo: V. Barsokevitsch / SKS, arkisto

Juhani Aho.
Photo: Daniel Nyblin / SKS, arkisto

supported the operation of local private schools, which were often established as coeducational schools. But the views expressed publicly by the church were negative and at times aggressive against the women's movement. Yet Minna Canth's own ethical base was a Christian one. The writer Juhani Aho also chose the members of a pastor's family as the subjects realistically described in his works, and he criticised the hidebound attitude of the Estates-based society. Thus the conservative revivalist clergy was taking a stand against the new literary generation, in spite of their shared Fennoman sentiments.

By the 19th century, written communication was no longer the exclusive preserve of the intelligentsia. The wealth generated by industry and trade had started to accumulate in provincial centres, so that Finland saw the emergence of a European-style robust network of newspapers. Subscribers included ordinary households, and many writers

were also active journalists. Both liberal and conservative voices found outlets for their views.

The leading spokesman for the church's opposition to the new ideas was the Bishop of Kuopio, Gustaf Johansson, who declared the women's movement to be contrary to the sequence of God's creation of the world. He also spoke out in the Diet against women being given the right to enrol at the University; he regarded femininity as being as important as masculinity, but claimed that 'the former is not the same as the latter'. The ideal for the pupils at girls' schools should not be to take the university examination and then a master's degree, he said. In his view, the difference imposed by the two sexes should not be ignored in education. The lecture halls at the university had already been opened to women. They should continue to attend on an 'interest only' basis, not as students in the full sense, he argued.

Some of the clergy supported the aims of the women's movement, and encouraged women to take up university studies. Johansson's stance, on the other hand, was based on the biblical theology formulated at Tübingen in southern Germany. While this was not the theological mainstream in its environment of origin, it was able to be applied in support of the Finnish revivalist movements. According to them, the biblical view of the family and society was the overriding criterion. From this perspective, therefore, the women's movement represented an open rebellion against the divine order.

The stance taken by Johansson – subsequently promoted as archbishop – and the pastors who followed his line him reinforced the intelligentsia's view of the church and clergy as reactionary forces. They saw the European belief in development being blocked by a tradition-based scepticism towards cultural progress. The pro-Finnish ranks split towards the end of the 1880s into 'old' and 'young' Fennomans. The radical writ-

ers and journalists belonged to the latter, whereas the Old Fennoman supporters wanted to cling to idealism and respect for inherited values.

The temperance movement

The temperance movement was the most highly organised popular movement. The principle of complete abstinence from alcohol, based on the model from the English-speaking world, became established in Finland at the beginning of the 1880s, supplanting the position focused on moderation. In line with its international prototype, the movement organised itself as local temperance societies. The Anglo-American background to the movement can also be discerned in the involvement of the Christian world view and spiritual endeavour – usually along free church lines – as an integral part of the societies' activities. Many of the early temperance societies were also religious associations.

The revivalist movements had already taken an interest in the temperance issue, since combating drunkenness had been one of the aims of the church and clergy previously, and in many parishes pastors participated in the activities of the new societies. On the other hand, the parsonage also formed part of the upper-class culture, which, like the Finnish peasant culture, included the consumption of alcohol in moderation. The organisation of the movement in the form of societies and the commitment to strict sobriety and the personal temperance oath were something new.

✠ *Gustaf Johansson, a Fennoman church leader*

Gustaf Johansson (1844–1930) was born as the son of a revivalist parish pastor in the north of the country. Following studies in Finland, he went to Tübingen as a student of J. T. Beck. Johansson adopted Beck's biblical

Gustaf Johansson.
Photo: Daniel Nyblin / Museovirasto

interpretation, which provided a way to combine pietist doctrine with academic theology. On this return to Finland, he worked for ten years as professor of dogmatics and ethics until 1884, when he was appointed Bishop of Kuopio. He was then made archbishop in 1899. Johansson was the deputy chairman of the clerical estate in the Diet, and became its chairman in 1897.

Already in his time at Kuopio he became the strategist with the skills required to defend the church against both the free church movements and the writers of the radical realism school. He had formed a friendship with the Fennoman movement leader G. Z. Yrjö-Koskinen on the basis of their shared idealistic stance, holding that a sound values base for ideologies and ideas was essential for the development of the Finnish nation. They later parted ways when in the decisions he was making on church matters, Yrjö-Koskinen was not always able to follow the bishop's dictatorial policies.

Johansson saw the church as a community engendered 'from above' by the word of God. It should not therefore have any involvement in temporal organisations or associations. This point of view also explains his vehement criticism of Laestadianism and the Salvation Army; no teacher had authority to lay down his own rules in the domain of religious belief – rather, only the commands of Christ should prevail. The Laestadians had breached the principle of the purification of religious belief whereby Christ is the sole intermediary between God and man. They had therefore fallen into the Catholic heresy whereby an individual's relationship with God is made dependent on his or her relationship with the parish. Similarly, the Salvation Army's requirement for its members to engage in repentance exercises meant that it was putting man's rules before a true relationship with God, he argued.

Most of the Lutheran clergy generally supported the temperance concept, but there were growing suspicions regarding the formation of organised structures in the name of temperance, and of the movement's free church tendencies. In the mid-1880s, Archbishop T. T. Renvall characterised temperance societies as an 'excrescence' of the Christian church. According to Bishop Gustaf Johansson, while every pastor could only wish the temperance movement well, there was no biblical basis for the binding oath of complete abstinence.

As a result of the reservations expressed by the church leadership, a large proportion of the parish clergy who had participated in temperance activities now ceased to be involved in the temperance societies. The pursuit of the temperance issue by the free church movement now formed a channel of its own, whose main branch developed into a consciousness-raising movement focused on the temperance issue, but in its broadest form represented many different facets of civic activity. Subsequent research shows that for the movement's most passionate

supporters, it became something of a 'civil religion'. In addition, temperance societies provided a way for members of the workers' movement to organise at the end of the 19th century, when the establishment of socialist associations was prohibited.

The socialist programme for the workers' movement

While news of Marx's social philosophy and socialism had already reached Finland earlier, it was only in the 1890s that the social problems associated with industrialisation in continental Europe began to impact on the country. The early phase of the Finnish workers' movement, the 'Wrightian' movement, was focused on addressing working conditions and employer–employee relations. The movement then radicalised at the end of the 1890s, when class consciousness and the class struggle became part of its programme.

Continental European socialism was viewed in Finland as a dubious phenomenon in terms of the world view it implied. The professor of church history Herman Råbergh, for example, claimed that German and French socialism was closely linked to the indifference towards religion and the atheism that was increasingly widespread in those countries. Even though the movement's social criticism was to a large extent justified in the view of many churchmen, its objective was seen as a destructive one. It was held to be undermining Christian religious belief and the foundations of organised society. In the eyes of the provincial provost K. E. Stenbäck, in other countries the workers' movement had deteriorated into nihilism, since it had become cut off from Christian belief. Some clergymen, like other members of the upper class, had been involved in the workers' associations in the early stages in support of their educational work. When entertainment became the priority, the pietist-minded pastors generally stepped aside.

Three of the country's main workers' organisations had already approved a socialist programme just before the first period of oppression that started in 1899. In that year the new Finnish Workers' Party was established, and in 1903, Forssa incorporated religious policy content characteristic of the Marxist movement in its manifesto. For the first time in Finnish history, the separation of Church and state now featured in the programme of a political party, and the church was part of the social order that the movement was fighting against.

The scientific world view and religion

Finnish biologists were quick to absorb Darwin's theory of evolution. The philosophical consequences were drawn in Finland already in the early 1870s, when the university graduate A. J. Malmberg – later to become a renowned pioneer of the teaching of biology as A. J. Mela – introduced the new ideas into the world of the University as follows: 'We are members of the ape tribe, poor creatures that we are; but there's nothing I can do about it, there really isn't'.

The debate prompted by the new scientific world view came to a head in upper-class circles in Sweden in the 1880s. Fredrik Elfving, holder of a doctoral degree in botany, wrote a newspaper article arguing that there was an irreconcilable conflict between science and traditional Christianity. And a series of articles in the spring of 1884 by another Swede, Dr Carl von Bergen, created a major storm amongst the intelligentsia in the Swedish capital. He too saw science and the doctrines of the church as being in conflict with each other, and argued that all dogma that did violence to reason should be removed from Christianity.

The pietist religious stance that had become widespread in the church did not provide a robust platform for the evolution debate. In

the initial phase, the only person prepared to enter the theological fray was the professor of dogmatics and ethics A. F. Granfelt. In his writings he attempted to prove that science and religion were not necessarily at odds with each other. According to his interpretation, behind the criticism and attacks in the name of natural science there was the agenda of promoting a particular kind of world view. For scholars in various branches of the scientific community his arguments smacked of Snellman-style idealism, and lacked any real scientific cogency. Theologians following the biblical approach and church leaders saw the defence arguments advanced by their elderly colleague as futile, since humanism-based arguments could not effectively counter scepticism and Darwinist denials of God's creative power.

Monarchs and church construction

Under the law, the founder of a new parish had to have the resources needed to pay the clergy and maintain the church building. Authority to build the church had to be obtained from the monarch. With the increase in the volume of public construction activity, the Swedish king found it necessary to establish a supervisory office in Stockholm to assist him. During the reign of Gustavus III, towards the end of the 18th century, it began to play a more active role in the management of construction projects.

The parish had to meet the costs of building its church. Gustavus III gave special attention to the project in Hämeenlinna, as the inland administrative centre, and travelled there in person to approve the necessary plans. The town centre was relocated from beside the castle to its present site, and a square grid-based zoning plan was created for the purpose. A central site was set aside for the church. The construction plan submitted by the parish was not however to the king's liking, even though it was based on the design of a church in Stockholm that was already in operation. The court artist Louis Jean Desprez was given the task of drawing up the plan. The church, based on the Pantheon in Rome, was completed in 1798, with the monarchy contributing to the construction costs. The interior of the church is still defined by its circular base outline. The altar was originally placed at the centre, with curved rows of pews arranged symmetrically around it, rising towards the circumference, in the manner of an ancient theatre. At the end of the 19th century, however, the parish moved the altar to the base of a tower built by the east wall, levelled the

floor, arranging the pews as in a longitudinal church, and widened the church space by forming the arms of a cross.

After Finland became a Grand Duchy under the rule of the Russian Tsar, a public building supervisory office was established in 1811 as a central body directly subordinate to the ruler of Finland. The superintendents Charles Bassi, Carl Ludvig Engel and C. A. Lohrman, and after them, general director Jac. Ahrenberg, between them planned tens of churches for Finland. Revival styles were very much to the fore. Neo-Classicism was the dominant stylistic trend during the autonomy period of Finnish history, along with Neo-Gothic by the end of the 19th century. Photo: Arto Kuorikoski

The construction of the Nikolai church in Helsinki (from 1959 the Cathedral) was largely based on a funding decision made by Tsar Nicholas I. The presence in the Grand Duchy capital of a Lutheran church mainly designed by Engel, at a central location in Senate Square, within the Neo-Classical administrative centre also designed by him, was an ideal fit with the policy of forming closer relations with Europe. Photo: Arto Kuorikoski

Uspenski Cathedral was built in 1862–1868, mainly from donated funds. The donations were motivated by the aspiration to add to the Helsinki urban landscape a church building presenting the primary religious denomination of the Tsarist empire. The cathedral was designed by the Russian church architect Aleksei M. Gornostayev. Photo: Arto Kuorikoski

Criticism from the free church movement, and the Nonconformists Law

Baptists, Methodists and free church followers

The new Anglo-American based religious movements began to recruit stable groups of adherents in Finland in the mid-19th century. These groups gradually began to generate a remarkable degree of publicity, given their size, by joining the ranks of those criticising the privileged social position of the Lutheran Church. The debate was at its most intense in the 1880s. At that time the free church 'front' consisted of three independent movements: the Baptists, the Methodists, and the Free Church movement as such, who in spite of doctrinal differences had common objectives in terms of church policy.

The Baptist faith arrived in Finland from North America in the mid-19th century, through seamen and immigrants, firstly on the islands of Åland and later in Ostrobothnia. The movement rejected infant baptism and required a personal awareness of the meaning of baptism on the part of its members on reaching the age of majority, and adult baptism. The Baptists' organisational structure was based on the formation of independent parishes. Ostrobothnia was their most important support base from the 1860s, and in the 1880s the movement was also boosted by returning migrants from America, and a generally more mobile population.

In the case of Methodism, the doctrinal differences with Lutheranism were not very great. In their evangelising activities the Methodists aimed for a conscious decision to believe, and, like the Baptists, they saw the church as a community of individuals who had all made a personal

decision. Methodism in Finland originated from the American branch of the movement, the episcopal Methodist church that had spread rapidly in the first half of the 19th century from England to the United States. The movement was active in Finland already in the 1860s, but the first unofficial parish was set up in 1881 in Vasa. By the start of the 20th century it had also spread to the southern coastal region of Finland and eastern Finland, where its operations were generally based in the cities.

The first Finnish links with the Free Church movement originating from the British Isles date from the 1860s. Free churchism grew into a genuine religious movement in Finland at the beginning of the 1880s. Initially its members were mainly Swedish-speaking, but Finnish speakers were in the majority by before the turn of the century. Momentum for the movement in Finland came from personal links formed with the Swedish Free Church movement, and soon after also with the English Holiness movements.

In its initial phase the Free Church movement did not set out to form a denomination in its own right, but rather, aimed to operate as a revivalist-style community within the majority church. Some members did however try to move the entire organisation of the Lutheran Church in the direction of Free Churchism. The movement was severely critical of the spiritual life of the Lutheran Church, its ties to the state, and the privileged status of its preachers. The Free Church ideal was religious belief based on experience. They believed in a congregational parish structure, that is to say based on the full independence of local parishes. Within these, all believers would be as preachers. In the 1880s the movement organised itself as local associations. To link these associations together, in 1889 the Free Mission (*Vapaa Lähetys*) organisation was established at first for domestic mission, but the very next year for mission work in China.

In the modern era a number of Roman Catholic and Jewish immigrants to Finland have held, and continue to hold, important positions in the administration and business sectors. Tatars following the Sunni tradition of Islam formed a distinct migrant community in Finland at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, following their internal migration within Russia. They were mainly engaged in commerce, particularly trading in furs. A characteristic feature of these and other small communities is the fact that no native Finns joined them.

The Nonconformists Law

After several attempts, a Nonconformists Law was approved in a limited form in 1889. It provided the possibility of independence and separation solely for the members of certain Protestant minority movements, but not for Roman Catholics, for example. Nor were Orthodox believers permitted to leave their own church. A new community seeking approval had to accept solely the authority of the Bible and the Apostles' Creed. The Baptists and Methodists took up this option for organising themselves. The Free Church movement and the only recently established Salvation Army, however, which in Finland existed in the space between the Lutheran Church and the free movements, continued to operate in the same way as before, as associations. The Senate administrative authorities responsible for church matters were unhappy about this decision by the Free Church, since the movement clearly involved organised church services and the taking of communion, even if it had not structured itself as an independent church community.

The Nonconformists Law extended civil rights to those outside the Lutheran and Orthodox Churches to some extent, but the option of having no religious denomination was not yet made available. The principle of the Christian state prevailed, for example in the fact that

without an extract from the population register held by a church or legally authorised minority community, it was not possible to apply for a position in the state administration or enrol at university. This was a problem encountered by Viktor Heikel, a senior teacher of physical education at the University of Helsinki, who was the son of a clerical family, but one of the most prominent advocates for latitudinarianism and freedom of religion. His son, who was not baptised, was unable to enrol at university because of not having an extract from the population register. An appeal to the Senate had the desired result only when Yrjö-Koskinen, as director of church affairs, advised Heikel to use the option of registration via the Baptists' community, since members of the same clerical family had also joined the Baptists.

The 'people's church' as the new programme of the Lutheran Church

Growing conflicts

The Lutheran Church in the 1880s was unprepared for the incipient ideological and religious debate. Its activities were focused on local parishes. In principle it was possible for the General Synod to put motions on current issues, but it could not participate in day-to-day polemics because of the long intervals between meetings.

The state church was under fire from general ideological and socialist perspectives, and also from the free church point of view. The church was administratively cumbersome, and unable to respond to the new challenges and circumstances it was facing. Representatives

of the 'ecclesiastical direction' church policy faction formulated a new definition of the church. Instead of it being a 'state church' – an aspect that was now attracting considerable criticism – they wanted it to become a 'people's church', along the lines of Central European models, to which a majority of citizens belonged. The concept was a flexible one. Within Finnish society it could be linked to the idealistic concept of 'the 'people', or 'nation' that was part of the Fennoman movement. And within the church, this would provide a way to combine the revivalist movements and church associations into a concerted force supporting the church, thereby weakening the force of the criticisms from religious minority movements. The concept of a people's church could be understood in different ways. The 'ecclesiastical direction' group focused on the central guiding and educating role of the church. For supporters of the Pietist-based biblical faction the main priority was for a 'nucleus' of believers to assume responsibility for the church's activities.

✠ *G. Z. Yrjö-Koskinen, head of the Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs*

G. Z. Yrjö-Koskinen (1830–1903), originally named Georg-Zacharias Forsman, became acquainted with the Finnish nationalist revival and German idealist philosophy as a school pupil in the 1840s. He went on to become one of the leading Finnish historical scholars and officials of his time. His academic and research career was concentrated in the decades from the 1850s to the 1870s.

Yrjö-Koskinen sat in the Diet from 1872, first in the clerical estate, and after being raised to the nobility (1882), in the nobles' estate. He quickly assumed a central role in the Fennoman clerical estate, whereas the noble's estate was a bastion of the Svecomans. In 1882, as the leader

G. Z. Yrjö-Koskinen.
Photo: SKS, arkisto

of the Finnish party, he became a member of the Senate, and from 1885 he headed the Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs (later the Ministry of Education) that was responsible for education, church and cultural affairs. His central conviction was that the principles operating in a nation state make their most valuable contribution when applied to building a single national entity. In this role he took steps to improve the status of the Finnish language, and to develop Finnish-medium secondary schools. He worked for the passing of the Nonconformists Law and the further development of church itinerant schools, was active on church administration issues, including deciding on diocese boundaries, and participated in the debate on the church at extraordinary clerical synods. ✠

Parish life

Attendance at services, communion and instructional meetings began to decline, first in the 1860s and 1870s in the towns and cities, then around the turn of the century also in rural areas. The gap between active churchgoing Christians and those estranged from the church widened. Some parishes gradually let the obligation to take communion at least once a year lapse altogether. And full attendance at catechism meetings was increasingly limited to the cohort graduating from confirmation class.

Local parishes were in crisis – but the wheels of church administration turned only very slowly, and it took a long time for the new industrial population centres and railway settlements to get pastors and churches. Parish life in Finland had previously catered mainly for the needs of rural settlements in farming areas.

Industry and the railways did not follow a weekly cycle. While the operation of factories on the day of rest took place behind closed doors, the trains running on Sundays were there for all to see. The General Synod tried to ban railways from operating on Sundays, or at least to stop trains from running during church service times, but without success.

Yet the community-minded and patriarchal spirit embodied in the Lutheran catechism was not yet dead. At the end of the 19th century some large factories were paying pastors as factory preachers conducting services for their workers. And in the years around the turn of the century, some companies even built factory chapels, which generally later passed into the hands of the local parish. Finnish State Railways paid preachers to travel up and down rail routes and organise services for those railway workers whose needs had not been met by the local parish.

New objectives

From the end of the 1880s, the church was able to counter the criticisms levelled against it by the nonconformist movements. Under the Church Law, clerical synod meetings had the right to put motions to be discussed in the General Synod, but this avenue led to changes occurring only slowly. As from 1887 a system of calling private pastors' synods with no requirements of form was introduced, and these put numerous motions for reforming the way the church operated. They saw the revivalist movements as supporting the church. New ways of working were introduced, often on the basis of associations.

Sewing circle in Helsinki in early 20th century.
Photo: Museovirasto

The Anglo-American model of associations was in part adopted directly from England, but also frequently via Scandinavian associations. A new operating culture based on voluntary work began to emerge in the activities of church associations at the end of the 19th century. The central organisation of the evangelical revivalist movement, The Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland (*Sley*) was established in 1873, and the Finnish Seamen's Missionary Society (*Suomen Merimieslähetysseura*) was set up in 1875. The Young Men's Christian Association (*Nuorten Miesten Kristillinen Yhdistys, NMKY*) also started religious activities for youth in Finland. The Anglo-American institution of Sunday School as a children's service was backed by a national association structure, the Finnish Evangelist Lutheran Sunday School Association (*Suomen*

Evankelis-Luterilainen Pyhäkouluyhdistys), founded in 1888, replacing the former Sunday School focused mainly on teaching the children. Local town and city missions and social work associations (*diakonaattiyhdistykset*) began to undertake voluntary social work. Most of the early temperance associations were also religious associations.

Church support for the policy of appeasement

National consciousness was on the rise in the Russian state around the end of the 19th century, and considerable critical attention was paid to border regions such as Finland, which had a different social order from that of the mother country. The threat of Russification culminated in the events of the 'first period of oppression'. The turning point was the February manifesto of 1899, which restricted the legislative powers of the Finnish estates. The Finns' opposition to the measure was structured around two options. The Svecomans and Young Fennomans favoured a constitutional and passive resistance approach. The appeasement line, on the other hand, aimed rather at preserving the country's survival through difficult times by partially agreeing to some limitations of rights previously enjoyed. The gap between the two groups widened in the autumn of 1901. The point at issue was the decree whereby Finns could be required to serve as conscripts in units based elsewhere in the Russian empire. For the new decree to come into force, the text had to be read aloud in churches. The Lutheran Church was not able to avoid taking sides.

The *kagaali* underground organisation calling for passive resistance appealed to the church not to read the notice. But a majority of the bishops and clergy lined up on the appeasement side. This decision was influenced not only by ideological identification with the appeasement line, but more particularly the concern that by taking a stand on the matter the Lutheran Church might be subjected to the same kind of

Russification as that suffered by its sister churches in the Baltic region. The notice was duly read out in most churches in Finland. The effect was that the church was seen to support the appeasement side and the Old Fennomans. However, within the church there was also a minority of constitutionalist supporters.

The Orthodox Church

The position of Finnish-speaking Orthodox believers started to improve again after the middle of the 19th century. The Holy Synod in Russia agreed to the increased use of the vernacular in church services. It endeavoured to improve the training and Finnish language skills of priests serving in Finland. This however required that the teaching of children in the parish follow the same line as in the elementary primary education of all Russia's minority nationalities. This meant that the use of Finnish would be permitted only up to the time when the children could understand Russian. But from its nationalist perspective, the Finnish Senate was unable to approve the compulsory education of children in Russian. The dispute was resolved only in 1883, when the Tsar issued a decree on children's education, stating that parishes could provide elementary education in Finnish to children who did not receive it at home. During the first period of oppression the teacher training college undertook the training of Orthodox itinerant teachers.

Orthodox parish administration was adjusted to the Finnish local administration system. The clergy had to know Finnish or try to learn it. The parish was required to maintain population registers of its members. The operation of the Finnish-speaking parishes had now been placed

Orthodox church in Suomenlinna in 1908.
Photo: Fjodor Petrovits Tolstoi / Suomen Kansallismuseo

on a firm footing, but there was no relaxation of the tension between Fennomans and Russian Orthodox believers.

In 1885, Fennoman Orthodox believers established the brotherhood of Saints Sergei and Herman. The organisation began publishing

texts in Finnish, and a newspaper entitled 'Dawn' (*Aamun Koitto*), which was later to become the church community's semi-official mouthpiece.

At the end of the 19th century the Orthodox Church became a channel for Russification. Under a decision of the Holy Synod, in 1892 a diocese of Vyborg was created for Orthodox parishes. The Finnish Senate had to accede to the Russian church authorities' wishes regarding the size of the diocese administration, even though it believed the expenses for the diocese were excessive.

The Russian authorities insisted that the Orthodox Church must have a public presence, for example in relation to official ceremonies. Fennoman Orthodox believers preferred not to emphasise the links between Russianness and Orthodoxy, since nationalist sentiment was quick to regard the Orthodox Church as representing the political oppressor.

7

Crises in the churches and society

From general strike to civil war

The Russo-Japanese War that broke out in February 1904 proved disastrous for Russia. A wave of demonstrations culminated in a general strike in October 1905. The Tsar was forced to relinquish his unlimited autocratic authority. Russia now had a parliament, and civic freedoms were declared.

The general strike spread to Finland. The pro-appeasement Senate resigned. In the following year the Diet of Estates was replaced with a parliamentary system of government and people's representation. The clerical estate departed from the political stage along with the other estates – but the pastors were still there. Over a long period, they had become accustomed to dealing with community issues, and some looked to take up a political career in the new parties that were now formed.

As one of the many momentous consequences of the First World War across the whole of Europe, Finland declared itself to be an independent state on 6.12.1917. This followed the 1917 revolution in Russia, leading to the creation of the Soviet Union.

The church and the workers' movement

The programme of the socialist workers' movement became more clearly anti-church. A Forssa party meeting in 1903 called for the separation of Church and state:

> Religion must be declared a private matter. The church must be separated from the state, and religious communities must be regarded as private associations, organising their own internal affairs. Religious instruction must be removed from the school curriculum.

The most radical element of the workers' movement took an openly anti-Christianity position, but there were also those who wanted to be involved in the church, but on their own terms. According to the parliamentarian Taavi Tainio, for example, the socialists should appropriate power in the area of church legislation, wresting it 'away from the General Synod, where those representatives of the reaction at its darkest and most dismal, the clergy, are still playing the first violins'. Views critical of religion and the church appeared from time to time in the socialist press, but for some years after the Forssa meeting the topic did not find its way to the top of the agenda in official party and Diet activities.

A debate on freedom of religion was generated following the March 1917 revolution in Russia, which raised fears, including among the leadership of the Lutheran Church in Finland, of the outbreak of a Red revolution in Finland. An article in the 'Native Land' (*Kotimaa)* newspaper predicted that the church was about to enter a new phase, and would face more demanding tasks. 'The same external guarantees and supports as before will no longer be there to shore up the existence and activity of our church'. There was therefore reason to fear changes in the legal and constitutional status of the church.

This was also predicted by the 'Worker' (*Työmies)* social democratic newspaper in an article on the church:

> If the freedom of religion is declared, all who support the separation of state and church will leave the state church: workers, the young generation of the rural population, the gifted and talented, the majority of men of learning and officials, most of the young people in our classrooms and lecture halls – so who will be left within its bosom? Why, reactionary elements: clergymen, rich landowners, old fools and wretched youth, cast off to wander this 'vale of tears'.

In the newspaper's view, the church's assets were not to be left in the hands of such a sorry crew, and should be nationalised.

In the election campaign of autumn 1917, positions began to harden. A majority in ecclesiastical circles gave their support to the bourgeois side, although some clergymen supported the Christian workers' movement. But some wider implications can be seen in the pessimistic views expressed by Sigfrid Sirenius. He deplored the fact that the vehemently anti-religious Finnish workers' movement understood Socialism and religion as opposites. One had to be prepared for the possibility of the workers' movement splitting in two, as had happened in other countries, he said. Perhaps then a day would dawn when the true connection between Socialism and Christianity would be understood:

> Then that which is best and noblest in the workers' movement will cast off, along with all the rest, that God-denying and materialism that is hanging on to her skirts, will cast off as heavy fetters those destructive forces, against which its best elements are already rebelling in their hearts, and which so many of the warmest supporters of the workers' movement have already forcibly ejected.

By spring 1918 Finland was in the grip of a civil war, fought between the bourgeois social classes and the socialist workers' movement. The church supported the Whites. Even though many clergymen understood the social demands of the workers' movement, the gap between Marxist Socialism and the traditional church was too wide. This was illustrated by the war itself and some of the propaganda used by both sides during its course. The Whites contrived to interpret the conflict as God's war against the devil. The vicars of Suodenniemi and Loppi were killed in February 1918, prompting a flood of stories of attacks on clergymen and churches, sometimes without any foundation. Meanwhile the Reds were putting out press reports with exaggerated claims of squads of murderers led by crazed clergymen with guns in their hands. The same reports alleged that churches and parsonages were being used as military bases.

The victory of the Whites ensured there would in any event be no radical change in the church's status. Many clergymen even interpreted the events of the civil war in religious and ideological terms, as a healthy reaction from forces of religion and civilisation lying latent within the people, against the incursion from the East of anarchy, amorality and Bolshevism. The people had risen up in defence of their survival and traditional values.

The 'parish nucleus', and the church as educator

The general strike of 1905 also marked a turning point in the life of the church. In the course of the strike, pastors were able to observe how often their parishioners were attending church services, taking communion and coming to catechism meetings. While the picture differed according

to local circumstances, the trend was the same everywhere: while at the beginning of the 1900s as many as 70–80% of confirmation class graduates took communion at least once a year, just two decades later this figure had fallen to 20–30%. The collapse of the traditional church mores that had started in the towns and cities now also extended into rural areas.

From the 1880s there was vigorous debate around the fact that many civil rights could be exercised only by those holding a certificate of baptism or attendance at communion issued by the parish pastor. Ever since the 13th century, canon law had defined the right to take communion as a prerequisite for marriage. In Sweden, after the Reformation the celebration of a marriage was regarded as a secular legal act, but by mutual agreement between the monarch and the church, the performance of this act remained a function of the church. Under the Carolingian legislation, taking communion remained a prerequisite for marriage. The Finnish Marriage Law only recognised marriages performed by the church, and accordingly from the end of the 19th century the mandatory communion condition imposed by the church prompted increasing indignation from those who had rejected the church. Conversely, religious minority movements and genuine believers were angry at the fact that people who had rejected communion were being forced into taking the sacrament. The strict communion requirement for people to be able to marry was lifted in 1910; members of the Lutheran Church now only had to have attended confirmation class in order to have their bans read. Provisions allowing civil marriage were added to the Marriage Law only in 1917. The communion requirement had not completely disappeared from Lutheran Church law, however, since attendance at communion was still required for the godparents of children being baptised into the Lutheran faith right up to the 1970s.

At the beginning of the 1920s the Lutheran Church found itself in a new situation, insofar as only a small nucleus of active parishioners was regularly attending communion services. The composition of this nucleus varied from one parish to another, but a typical common feature was that many of these members of the church also belonged to religious associations or revivalist movements operating in the same local community. Attendance at church services had always fluctuated according to the season and the weather, but parishes tried to hold communion services four times a year. In larger parishes, however, at least three communion services on consecutive Sundays had been needed to enable all parishioners to receive communion. But the communion service was no longer an occasion that brought the entire parish together. Behaviour patterns had changed, and so had the perceived meaning of the act of taking communion. The ritual of the sacrament at the altar was now based more clearly than before on an acknowledgement by individual Christians of their religious belief. The teaching of the church also changed to emphasise this perspective.

The official structure of the church adapted only slowly to this change. Under the Church Law, those intending to take communion were required to give prior notification of this in a communion register, and to record receiving communion in a communion book. Once the majority of parishioners were no longer taking communion or doing so only sporadically, this registration process became pointless. More and more parishes simply counted the total numbers of those taking communion. The law was slow to reflect these changing practices, with the communion registration process being removed from the Church Law only in 1959.

Catechism meetings were still held, particularly in rural parishes, but they too gradually lost their significance as a means of instruction for the entire community, and became rather an occasion for register-

ing for confirmation class. The last church itinerant schools were still operating in the 1920s in some sparsely populated areas, but the introduction of compulsory education and municipal elementary schools soon made them unnecessary. Participation in parish activities had now become a matter of individual choice rather than the community norm, with each member deciding whether or not to be actively involved.

Yet the rituals conducted by the church continued to be an integral part of life for most Finns. The proportion of home baptisms increased in both urban and rural areas. Church weddings largely remained the norm, in spite of the option of a civil ceremony introduced in 1917. Becoming engaged was still a legal act; the couple wishing to have their bans read had to apply either to the parish pastor or the city administrative court. Those wishing to marry in church applied to the former, and this required completion of confirmation class and entitlement to receive communion. Confirmation class and confirmation remained the gateway to adulthood for most young people.

Religious burials also remained the norm. Burial in ground blessed by the church was still a highly valued privilege, and tended to reduce the numbers opting to leave the church, even though this was now possible.

Some of the old church practices were however only a historical memory. The traditional church discipline, with the associated penalties to shame the offender, had been a dead letter since the mid-19th century. Once the parishes stopped observing the law in this regard, the provisions on church discipline were progressively eliminated from the Church Law.

The rise of association-based Christianity and attempts to form alliances

The level of participation by a limited number of active parish members increased as the majority of parishioners began to withdraw from

involvement in traditional parish activities. Examples and models for emulation were taken from various quarters: revivalist society meetings, the small group structures characteristic of religious associations, and gatherings organised by religious minority movements. Sigfrid Sirenius, the pioneer of the Finnish settlement movement, wrote as follows in 1922 in support of the activity of the associations in his work *Kansankirkko* (A people's church):

> Both in society and in the church, it has always been the case that civil action recognises the urgent needs of the moment before official bodies and institutions become aware of the problem. It instinctively senses appropriate methods for addressing the situation, and plans accordingly; it experiments with the selection of these methods; it demonstrates the vital importance of the task and the possibility of carrying it out; and it prosecutes the matter until such time as the official community has woken up to the importance of the issue, makes the problem its own, and addresses the task with the greater resources at its disposal.

Not everyone was so sanguine regarding the associations' ability to assist the church. Archbishop Johansson rather supported the early interpretation of the 'people's church', focused primarily on the church itself rather than its adaptation to changes taking place in society. Small group-based associations and revivalist movements with dubious ideas about the church gave rise to factionalism and opposing parties within the church, he argued. The revivalist Christians in the ambit of the Turku-based 'Awakener' (*Herättäjä*) newspaper supported the stance taken by Johansson. At the beginning of the 1910s, K. R. Kares in particular eloquently criticised the associations for their hidebound attitudes and competition for members and collection revenue, even though he himself worked for

a local association. Accordingly, in his view, the Turku youth revivalist movement should engage directly in local parish activities, and should not create its own association structure for this purpose.

The associations became an increasingly important source of fresh momentum for church activities. Their aim was to bring those who had become estranged from the church and religious belief back into the community of the faith. Among the largest church organisations in terms of membership was the network of Finnish Young Christians' Associations (NKY), developed in association with the YMCA movement. The 1920s and 1930s were the golden years for the NKY movement. Local associations organised youth groups and ran boys' and girls' clubs. The youth activities of many parishes began via the NKY or one of the other Christian youth organisations.

In Britain, their country of origin, the YMCA and YWCA, like the White Ribbon philanthropic women's organisation, were Protestant inter-denominational organisations. In Finland, many of these organisations were established in association with the Lutheran majority church, although belonging to it was not generally a requirement for membership.

The revivalist movements as support troops for the majority church

In Savo and Ostrobothnia, the strength of revivalism lay in the prayer meetings movement. The number of revivalist clergymen grew in the 1920s and 1930s in particular. At the same time, the movement was also acknowledging its status as an advocate for Finnish nationalism more openly than before. This profile adopted by the revivalist leaders was well received, since representatives of Finnish nationalism also had a high regard for revivalism, which they interpreted as a genuine expres-

sion of the Finnish peasant's religious faith. The revivalists' interest in Finnish national values therefore enhanced the overall prestige of the movement. Some revivalists were also actively involved in events taking place in wider society. A number of clergymen and laypeople participated in the activities of the Academic Karelia Society, for example, and there were also several revival activists involved in the Lapua movement and the Patriotic People's Movement (IKL), even holding leadership positions in some cases. However, clearly not all revivalists followed their leaders in this respect, since in Savo in particular they gave their political support primarily to the Agrarian Union (*maalaisliito*). The process of the integration of revivalism into the church continued after the Second World War. In 1945 their home mission society and publication cooperative were amalgamated in the Awakener Association (*Herättäjä-Yhdistys*). It also started to establish local associations, already discussed above.

In the Evangelical revivalist movement, a controversy on the 'church question' broke out in the 1920s. There were two different views within the movement. One side argued that the Lutheran Church's conception of the 'people's church' should be kept as broad as possible, while the other wanted it to develop into a community of professed believers. So the question for the Evangelical movement was whether to operate as a church-based revivalist movement, or to form as an independent Lutheran free church. This controversy ultimately led to the foundation of two independent Evangelical free churches after the Freedom of Religion Law came into force, with the establishment of the Free Evangelical Lutheran Parishes Federation of Finland (*Suomen vapaa evankelisluterilainen seurakuntaliitto*) and the Professed Lutheran Church of Finland (*Suomen tunnustuksellinen luterilainen kirkko*) as independent entities.

Most members of the Evangelical movement remained attached to the majority church. The youth sections played a major role in the

organisation of the mainstream of the movement. The first sections had been established at the end of the 19th century, along the lines of the international YMCA movement. As from the early 1920s, the youth clubs developed into fully-fledged local divisions of the Evangelical movement.

The Central Federation of the Associations of Peace of Finland (SRK) was established as an association of Conservative Laestadianism local organisations and peace associations. Still at the beginning of the 1920s, only some of the Old Laestadians belonged to these associations, since in many places the movement operated without any formal organisational structure. But the importance of the association system started to increase, and the SRK gradually took control of the movement. This was one of the reasons for a split in the Laestadianism revivalist movement in the mid-1930s. Many members of the Old Laestadianism revivalist movement had migrated to North America, where the movement had already split into two branches. Finnish Lutherans had kept in contact with both groups, and accordingly a layperson-led faction also split from the Old Laestadianism movement in Finland, which outsiders started to refer to as 'First-born Laestadianism' (*Old Apostolic Lutheran Church in USA*). SRK remained the mainstream of the movement. The breakaway group founded the 'Word of Peace' (*Rauhan sana*) newspaper, and the association of the same name or 'Little First-born' group.

The supporters of the pastor Urho Muroma were a new phenomenon in revivalist Christianity. Muroma began his evangelical activities along Anglo-American lines as a pastor, first of the Sortavala Evangelical Society (*Sortavalan Evankelinen Seura*), then the Central Association for Parish Activities of the Church of Finland, and from 1934 the Finnish Mission Society. He started to publish the 'Awake and Watch' (*Herää Valvomaan*) newspaper. *Herää Valvomaan* had an exceptional

number of subscribers in the 1930s, and became the communication medium of a new revivalist movement, later known as neo-pietism. The movement was placed on an organisational footing at the beginning of the 1940s, when the Kauniainen Bible College and Finnish Evangelical Home Mission Foundation were established.

The Young Church renewal movement

The Theological Saturdays Society (*Teologinen lauantaiseura*) was formed around the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, as a discussion group of young theologians and their friends among the lay population. Its self-appointed task was to defend the church and Christianity. Along with numerous leaflets, the members of the society published more than fifty booklets, some of which were translated from foreign texts. Their defence of the church and religious faith was focused on 'cultural Protestantism'. This was a theological school of thought of German origin, which aimed to strip Christianity of its ties with an obsolete world view and demonstrate the positive significance of Protestantism in particular for the ongoing development of society.

The texts defending the church typically discussed the origin and nature of Christianity, the relationship between Christianity and morality (an issue which had attracted attention from both socialist and bourgeois cultural radicals), and specific social issues. The relationship between the latest scientific advances and Christianity was one of the most central topics discussed, particularly by Erkki Kaila, later to become an archbishop. He set out to show that the contradiction frequently claimed to exist between faith and knowledge, the

Christian view of life and the scientific interpretation, was based on a misconception. Kaila agreed to be the opening speaker in a 1908 debate organised by the Prometheus Association established by leading atheists, on the Christian doctrine of atonement. He surprised the audience by not defending the doctrine of commensurate atonement, and the related concept of the passion of Christ as punishment. According to Kaila, atonement was above all proof of God's forgiving love. Other active members of the Saturdays Society were Jaakko Gummerus, Paavo Virkkunen, Yrjö Loimaranta, A.W. Kuusisto, Martti Ruuth, Lauri Ingman and Antti J. Pietilä.

In the decade of the 1910s, the Saturday theologians were taking up leading positions in the church. They formed a church renewal movement, which defined the line followed by the Lutheran Church in Finland in the period between the two world wars. Archbishop Gustaf Johansson was no longer as dominant as before, but the conservative patriarch, respected even by his opponents, remained in office until his death. However, the real leadership of the church was now in the hands of the Young Church leaders Jaakko Gummerus and Lauri Ingman.

After the First World War, the Archbishop of Uppsala, Nathan Söderblom, became the leader of the international ecumenical movement, but Johansson did not follow the course set by his Swedish counterpart. He opposed ecumenicalism, which he saw as a sign of weakness in the Christian community:

> This is a weakness afflicting today's Christian community, which it is trying to cure by unification. They want to unify all churches and sects: Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Lutheran, the Reformed Church and their sects are all supposed to join and work together. ... But this cannot achieve anything externally if there is no internal unity.

As a result of the stance taken by Johansson on the issue, Bishop of Porvoo Jaakko Gummerus took control of the church's external relations. The Finnish Lutheran Church sought links particularly with other Lutheran Churches. Finns attending international meetings were also at pains to raise awareness of Finland as a new independent republic.

Sigfrid Sirenius forged contacts with the settlement movement in England, and worked to make younger pastors aware of the social programme of the workers' movement, until everything was thrown into turmoil by the civil war.

The Young Church leaders sought to boost the church's informing and educating role. This required unity, of the kind that could only be achieved by bringing the whole community of the church together. The first church congress was held at the beginning of 1918, with the revival of parish life and raising of the Lutheran Church's profile at the top of the agenda. The second aim of the congress was to ensure the support of the church associations for concerted programmes undertaken by the church. At this first church congress it was decided to establish the Central Association for Parish Activities of the Church of Finland Church (SKSK). This became a discussion forum for a range of organisations, and supported the activities undertaken by individual parishes. It was not strong enough to achieve the organisations' amalgamation, although this had been the desired outcome. To back up the work of the Federation, a Christian Press Agency was established, to supply daily newspapers with articles supportive of the church.

According to the Young Church movement, the people's church had an obligation to care for the moral foundations of Finnish culture and society. This included the struggle for complete abstinence from alcohol. The Prohibition Law came into force in 1919, and the 'Native Land' (*Kotimaa*) newspaper of the Young Church movement gave it its full

support. The church's position was now different from the stance it had adopted at the end of the previous century. *Kotimaa* was now talking the language of Anglo-American puritanism.

The Prohibition Law was not a success. It was frequently breached, and smuggling increased. In autumn 1929, Paavo Virkkunen, himself a supporter of total abstinence, proposed the holding of a referendum on the issue. However, *Kotimaa* held to its position right until the end. Two-thirds of the population voted against prohibition, and the law was revoked in 1931.

Freedom of religion and the religious instruction debate

The Constitution adopted in 1919 was based on the denominational neutrality of the state. This guaranteed citizens freedom of religious practice, and made their rights and obligations independent of the religious community to which they belonged. Freedom of religion was now part of the fundamental rights of all Finnish citizens:

> Finnish citizens have the right to practise their religion in public and in private, unless this is contrary to the law and good conduct, and also, according to separate provisions, the freedom to leave the religious community to which they belong and to join another community.
>
> The rights and obligations of Finnish citizens are independent of what religious community they belong to, or whether they belong to any such community. The specific restrictions laid down with regard to public offices shall however remain in force until such time as otherwise stipulated by law.

In many respects, however, the Constitution still preserved the legal and administrative links between the Lutheran Church and the state. It defined the Lutheran Church as a public-law entity, and retained the right of the President of the Republic to appoint bishops. A number of administrative decisions on Lutheran and Orthodox Church matters, such as the definition of parish boundaries and the construction of new churches, were still subject to Cabinet approval. The special position of the Lutheran Church was based on its status as the church of the great majority of the Finnish population. The status of the Orthodox Church was based on similar considerations and its historical tradition.

The Freedom of Religion Law passed in 1922 clarified the principles of freedom of religion as set down in the constitution, and how they were to be applied in practice. Freedom of religion now applied to all citizens. The Law included provisions on the right to practise one's religion, provisions on leaving and joining religious communities, rules for determining the relevant denomination with regard to under-age children, rules for exemption from religious instruction, and regulations on taking oaths and on cemeteries. A civil register of persons not belonging to a religious community was to be kept according to their municipality of residence.

There were varying expectations as to how the new freedom to leave the church would impact on membership numbers. In the event, some initial 'spikes' were observed in the numbers leaving, but these soon flattened out. Some 52,000 members of the Lutheran Church left in the years between 1923 and 1930, which was fewer than expected.

Some difficulties also arose with reconciling the denominational neutrality of the state and full freedom of religion for Finnish citizens on the one hand, with the special status of the majority churches on the other. Many continued to see the church as having an educative role

for the country's citizens, and as a guardian of the nation's morals. The strict system of a state church had now been relaxed, but many of its denominational rights and administrative features remained in place. In addition to the aspects already noted, the state bore the cost of military chaplains and the remuneration of prison chaplains, as elsewhere in Europe. The state also recognised the swearing of religious oaths, and the calendar observed by secular society was still largely defined by the framework of the ecclesiastical calendar. Feast days and public holidays were laid down in the Church Law, so to this extent the Church Law remained applicable to citizens who had left the church. The announcement of Lutheran Church prayer days was made by the President of the Republic. A continuation of the same tradition could be seen in the church services held at the start and end of the parliamentary term, and at the opening of sessions of the ordinary courts and courts of appeal.

Relations between the church and the state were also involved in legislation on marriage, taxation, and school education. With regard to the latter, there was considerable debate regarding freedom of religion. In 1921 the Education Board put forward a proposal on the structure of the primary school system. This had been preceded by vigorous debate on whether religious instruction should be provided in schools. The proposal did not remove religious instruction from the curriculum. Instead, along with religious instruction, it proposed the teaching of ethics on a non-religious basis, to be compulsory for all pupils, in addition to religious instruction. Under strong pressure from the church community, however, religious instruction according to the denomination of the pupil's parents was retained, with history of religion and ethics to be taught only to pupils exempted from religious instruction. For many years the new subject remained largely a dead letter, however, because of the small numbers of pupils leaving the church.

Finnicisation of the Orthodox Church under state leadership

Up until the end of the autonomy period, the parish administration and clergy of the Finnish Orthodox Church were part of the Russian church administration structure. During both 'periods of oppression', it was increasingly branded as the 'Tsar's church', even though the nationalistic Finnish tendency within the church had gained a stronger foothold than before. The Brotherhood of Saints Sergei and Herman had been established as a home mission organisation in support of the Finnish national project. In the second 'period of oppression' Russians took over its leadership positions. They were not able to gain control of the 'Dawn' (*Aamun Koitto*) newspaper, however, since the editor-in-chief, Sergei Okulov, closed it down at the critical moment. In terms of its outward manifestations, the status of Orthodoxy was improving, with the construction of several Orthodox Churches in the years from 1890 to 1915, several of them garrison churches. A new convent was also established in the Orthodox diocese of Finland, when the Holy Trinity female community obtained an operating permit for the Lintula convent at Kivennapa in 1895.

The Russian Revolution and Finnish independence severed the links of the Finnish Orthodox diocese with the Russian state church, whose administrative direction, financial support and theological training had been very important to the diocese. Most of the clergy had been Russian-speaking. Some of the priests and cantors migrated to Russia. In many parishes, the Russian schools established during the period of oppression were closed, and some Russian priests were expelled.

The professor of Finnish language and literature E. N. Setälä was Head of the Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs in the Senate under the left-wing chairmanship of Oskari Tokoi, where work was proceeding on the freedom of religion legislation. Setälä himself had a broad cultural-liberal position on arrangements regarding the status of the churches, aimed at acknowledging their equal status under a broadly formulated framework law. He set up a working group consisting of Finnish nationalist Orthodox believers, on the basis of whose deliberations the Paasikivi cabinet issued the decree of 26 November 1918 on the Finnish Orthodox Church, already before the denominational neutrality of the state was enshrined in the Constitution. In the Constitution of 1919 and the Freedom of Religion Law passed in 1922, the special legal and administrative status of the Orthodox Church alongside the Lutheran Church was duly confirmed.

Under the decree, the administration of the Finnish Orthodox Church was to be largely the same as that of the Lutheran Church. As government legislation, it did not take any position on Orthodox canon-law issues. It declared the Orthodox Church to be a minority state church, alongside the Lutheran majority church. Its parishes were given the right to collect church tax from their members. The church had the right to celebrate marriages of its members. Supreme administrative authority was vested in the state, which had the role of appointing bishops, funding diocese administration and the church council set up in place of the spiritual consistory, and maintaining theological training. Regarding the structure of church and parish administration, the decree followed the models of the Lutheran Church and municipal administration. In accordance with the Nordic countries' democratic ideals, lay members of the church played a major part in the election of bishops and priests, and in church and parish administration. Under

the decree, the clergy were required to hold Finnish nationality, and holders of church offices had to know Finnish. Church services were generally to be conducted in Finnish.

Setälä's impact on the 'nationalisation' of the Finnish Orthodox Church continued after he became the first Minister of Education of an independent Finland. With his support, the Orthodox Church Assembly recognised in 1919 that its dependence on Russia in canon-law matters was no longer viable in the new political landscape. The Russian Patriarch Tikhon granted the Finnish church the autonomy it was seeking in 1921, at the same time granting archiepiscopal rank to its diocesan bishop, Bishop Serafim.

Setälä was the state's representative on the three-man delegation when negotiations were conducted in 1923 in Constantinople with the Ecumenical Patriarch on bringing the church under the authority of Constantinople. The Metropolitan of the Estonian Orthodox Church travelled as a fourth member of the party. The Ecumenical Patriarch did not grant the autocephaly sought by the church, but both churches gained autonomous status under his authority. The basis of the canon-law arrangements of the Finnish Orthodox Church became the 'tomos' document issued by the Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate on 6 July 1923.

The Finnish church's delegation was accompanied by the Estonian 'orphan priest' Herman Aav, who was due to be made an assistant bishop. Since links with the Russian church were severed, he could no longer be consecrated as a bishop in Finland. He was therefore consecrated in Constantinople. Archbishop Serafim, who was of Russian origin, was removed from office because of not knowing Finnish, and Herman was elected as the new Archbishop at the beginning of 1925. He remained in the position for more than 30 years.

The organisation of the churches and religious communities

Churches and religious communities operating in Finland were approved by Cabinet decision for entry in the register pursuant to the Freedom of Religion Law of 1922 as follows:

Finnish Baptist community	1892	1928
– rules in Swedish		1929
Finnish Episcopalian Methodist Church	1892	1924
– rules in Swedish		1925
Finnish Free Church		1923
Finnish Mohammedan Community		1925
Finnish Free Evangelical Lutheran Parish Federation		1928
Finnish Free Evangelical Lutheran Church		1929
Catholic Church in Finland		1929
Finnish Anglican Church		1936
Finnish Adventist Church		1943
– Finnish Adventist Church (Swedish-language)		1944
Jehovah's Witnesses		1945

The Freedom of Religion Law gave the government the ability to oversee the communities that practised religion publicly. This primarily involved monitoring registration according to the regulations, but the Cabinet was also able to audit the registered communities. Registration was important in cases where a community was obliged to keep the population register of its members, if it needed state assistance for some purpose,

or if it wished to celebrate marriages. The language question was an important aspect for new registrations.

Some problems were caused by the Baptists and Methodists, who had been organised already under the Nonconformists Law. Within both movements there were those who did not want the new status of a registered community, and would rather have stayed with the freer association structure. The Methodists in particular wanted to set up two religious communities – Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking respectively. The leadership of the Ministry of Education interpreted this as a sign of social fragmentation, and tried to stop it. When the linguistic differences proved to be ongoing, however, the communities' applications had to be approved.

The registration application of the Finnish Free Church was the first to be approved, at the beginning of 1923. But this decision did not come without some pain for the movement itself. Within the membership of the association-based Free Church, there were many who were now quite at home with the concept of an alliance, and aspired to change the Lutheran Church along free church lines. When they were now forced to decide whether to leave the Lutheran Church and transfer to the Free Church, some opted to remain with the Lutheran Church, while others transferred to other free church formations.

The Catholic church had returned to Finland at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries, when the country became part of the Russian Tsarist empire. The government now wanted the small Finnish Roman Catholic parishes to leave the Mohilev diocese that had remained in the Soviet Union, and to form a vicariate with the support of the Vatican. Setälä, as Minister of Education, was planning the same kind of administrative decree for the Finnish Roman Catholic Church as that approved for its Orthodox counterpart. However, the historical

divide between Protestantism and Catholicism proved stronger, and the idea did not gain approval in the political circles supporting the state church system. Meanwhile the Vatican approved the establishment of a vicariate already in 1923. Johannes Buckx, of Netherlands origin, was at that time appointed as the vicar, and consecrated as bishop. The status of the Catholic Church in Finland was officially resolved only in 1929, when it registered at the government's request.

Two Evangelical-Lutheran free parishes formed as independent communities at the end of the 1920s. Their origins can be traced back to a crisis in the evangelical movement back in the 1890s, when the Finnish Lutheran Evangelical Association and the Lutheran Church were criticised for an excessively free interpretation of doctrine and a lack of church discipline. The minority communities had received spiritual support from the Missouri Synod in America, which represented doctrinal purity, and the Lutheran free churches in Germany. Doctrinal differences between the leaders led to the evangelical parishes forming into two separate communities: the Free Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Parishes of Finland (*Suomen Vapaa Evankelisluterilainen Seurakuntaliitto*) was registered in 1928, and the Free Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland (*Suomen Vapaa Evankelis-Luterilainen Kirkko*) in 1929.

Organising as a clearly defined structure proved to be important for the Muslim minority community, consisting mainly of Tatars, when the community was planning the construction of a new mosque. The Finnish government was only prepared to endorse the regulations of the construction committee after the community's registration in 1925.

In Finland before the First World War there were a number of minority religious movements that did not wish to register. The Adventists' distribution of tracts had been started by Swedish supporters of the movement at the beginning of the 1890s, working amongst Swedish

speakers in Finland. It then spread into Finnish-speaking areas from the decade of the 1910s. The movement had an international organisational structure; it originated from the expectation of Christ's imminent return that suddenly emerged in America in the first half of the 19th century. Its supporters in Finland belonged to the Seventh Day Adventists, one of the numerous communities that sprang up in America. In 1909, the then five local parishes formed themselves into the Finnish local conference. In 1920, the Seventh Day Adventist Philanthropic Association of Finland registered itself as an association. Its lead association was the Helsinki Adventist Parish, which had branch sections comprising 13 other parishes operating in local municipalities. The movement preferred to remain as a structure organised under the Associations Law right up to the years of the Continuation War, when, mainly for the sake of social approval, it opted to register, and did so in 1943–44. The movement's efforts in favour of temperance and health were cited in the opinions submitted in the application dossier as positive factors, but their holding their day of rest on Saturday was thought likely to cause problems.

The first influences from the Pentecostal movement reached Finland in 1911, mainly through the intermediary of foreign preachers advocating for the Methodist and Baptist causes. Researchers have concluded that it formed as a distinct group in its own right in Finland by 1913. The 'Star of Hope' (*Toivon Tähti)* and 'Victory of the Cross' (*Ristin Voitto*) newspapers began to appear. Congregationalism, characterised by an organisational structure based on autonomous local parishes and the principle of independence, was the ideal across the whole of the international Pentecostal movement. In Finland, too, the parish was interpreted as a community consisting of individuals baptised as believers. The establishment of Pentecostal parishes in Finland began tentatively, however. Efforts by local parishes to organise in the form of

an association started to gain momentum at the beginning of the 1920s, on the eve of the passing of the Freedom of Religion Law, but there was little evidence of any desire by the movement to become registered as a religious community before the Second World War.

Table 1. Denominational breakdown of the Finnish population, 1920–1940. Source: Statistics Finland

Year	Lutheran, %	Orthodox, %	Members of other communities, %	Not members of any registered religious community, %
1920	98.1	1.6	0.3	0.03
1930	96.3	1.9	0.3	1.5
1940	95.9	1.8	0.3	2.0

From quarrels among right-wing radicals to the ordeal of the war years

Right-wing machinations in Finland intensified at the end of the 1920s. The popular uprising known as the 'Lapua movement' had the aim of combatting the growing influence of Communism. Many clergymen decided to support the popular movement led by the Lapua vicar K. R. Kares, which initially gained widespread support on the basis of its moral and religious character.

A farmers' march organised by the Lapua movement in July 1930 developed into a major religious and patriotic celebration, which received the tacit blessing of the authorities. However, the leadership of

the movement slipped into the hands of the radical wing. It took its lead from European right-wing radicalism, and did not shrink from the use of violence. A series of expulsions and the 1932 Mäntsälä rebellion caused many supporters to leave the movement. Archbishop Lauri Ingman, who had previously endorsed the movement, condemned the rebellion in a radio broadcast address.

The Patriotic People's Movement (IKL) continued the activities of the Lapua movement after it had been shut down, and in the 1933 elections managed to get six pastors into Parliament. In the manner typical of Fascist movements, it attempted to create a popular movement based on patriotism and the concentration of political authority in a few hands. Among the leaders of the youth wing was the eloquent pastor Elias Simojoki, who was driven by his hatred of the Russians. IKL lost support at the end of the 1930s, and in the 1939 elections it had just one clergyman elected to Parliament, K. R. Kares. Even though the church leadership had renounced right-wing radicalism already at the beginning of the 1930s, some links with the movement on the part of the church and Christianity remained through to the time of the Winter War and Continuation War.

Morale during the Winter War

By the autumn of 1939, Finland was at war with the Soviet Union. Over the years the clergy had emphasised the importance of the moral health of the population, warning of the danger threatening from the East. They saw the outbreak of war as a punishment brought on by the people's sinfulness. Now the people of Finland needed moral strength and unity more than ever before, they argued.

The Winter War was fought for 'home, religion and the fatherland'. 'We have God and Mannerheim, the Russians have nothing' was the

slogan. The divisions and differences of the civil war period were now cancelled out by the presence of a common enemy. As well as being a pillar of support for the community during the war, the church was able to provide pastoral care on the home front, amidst defeats and bitter victories, and at the front line when danger threatened. Field chaplains reported instances of renewed religious belief from various parts of the front.

Parish life was disrupted in many ways. Church services had to be organised in uncertain conditions, and attendance numbers were very low. During the war, parish staff had to deal with matters far removed from their normal duties. In preparation for war, the church took part in developing a comprehensive civil defence system to maintain the welfare of the Finnish population. Under the most ambitious plans along these lines, the clergy were to have a central role in building and maintaining morale. However, the prospect of such close ties between the church and the state's security policy attracted criticism. It was therefore decided to entrust this task to a specific structure within the voluntary Civil Guard organisation, the Field Chaplains Office of its general staff, later called the Home Guard Provosts Office. Thus the official participation of the Lutheran Church was not as predominant as had been envisaged in the initial plans. Many pastors did however play a leading role at a local level in building and maintaining morale.

Even though news of the defensive victories showed that the Finnish forces had won, these victories left a bitter taste, even while the war was still in progress. The signing of the Peace of Moscow (13 March 1940) forced the church to engage in social work activities to a greater extent than before. It also had to play a part in caring for refugees and organising the required arrangements for relocated parishes.

Mannerheim's Order of the Day to the Mothers of Finland issued on May 10, 1942 in a Finnish Church. Photo: Kirsi Kaivanto / Vapriikki

The Continuation War and 'brother in arms' pastors

Finland went into the Continuation War with the support of, and under pressure from, Nazi Germany. Links with Germany had been activated in the church, as in other domains. In November 1940 the Luther-Agricola Society was formed, with the aim of nurturing the two countries' common Reformation tradition. The interest of the Finnish Lutheran Church

in its German parent church was increased by the ordeals suffered by the Lutheran churches in the Baltic states following Soviet occupation.

The Finnish church again did not come out in opposition when the Continuation War began in June 1941. The church's newspapers supported the general view that the war was justified by the need to right the wrongs done to Finland in the Peace of Moscow, and to ward off the threat of Bolshevism. The spirit of the Academic Karelia Society was alive and well. Many pastors approved of the war as a sort of 'crusade' of the Christian West against atheistic Bolshevism. The war started successfully, with the Finnish forces seizing the territories lost in the previous conflict, and also a large portion of East Karelia. The church set about re-establishing parishes in the areas that had been lost in the Winter War, and making preparations for the operation of the church in East Karelia.

The long phase of inaction in the war then prompted debate on the justification of Finland's objectives in pursuing it, and the decision to fight alongside Germany. Some new notes could also be heard in the debate within the church. News had reached Finland of the struggle within the church in Germany, between the pro-Nazi 'German Christians' and the 'Confessing Church', which had refused to take orders from the government. The struggles of the church in Nazi-occupied Norway showed even more clearly that with each passing year, the war was not achieving the idealistic aims that had been the basis for embarking on the conflict. With the looming prospect of Germany losing the war, more and more people were starting to ask questions. However, fear of the Soviet Union and its policy towards the church meant that public statements from the church opposing the war remained few and far between. The Lutheran 'people's church' had accepted the task of maintaining consensus and morale in the Finnish population, and ac-

Communion at the front.
Photo: Sotamuseo

cordingly criticism of the country's official objectives in fighting the war was not seen as appropriate. The same line was taken by the Finnish Orthodox Church.

The Lutheran Church had been widely praised for its social and pastoral efforts during the Winter War. When the Continuation War started, young soldier chaplains were recruited in greater numbers than before, and the term 'military provost' (*sotarovasti*) was changed to that of 'field bishop' (*kenttäpiispa*). The soldier pastors' activities at the front were very different from their normal parish duties, and they established the 'Brother-in-Arms Pastors' association (*Asevelipapit ry*), which forged links with the workers' movement, particularly its trades union wing.

Toivo Laitinen was one of the leading figures of the young 'brother-in-arms pastors'. In an interview published in the *Kotimaa* newspaper

he expressed the hope that when peace came the church would form closer and stronger bonds with the Finnish people than before. This required a re-examination of the content of public discourse, he said. If pastors failed to take account of the wrongs and distortions within society and the economy, their message would remain too narrow, and would not serve all members of the church. Many others also noted that the way they had traditionally delivered their message sounded more like 'Caananese' than plain Finnish to the common man.

Not everyone approved of the social Christianity programme of the 'brother-in-arms pastors', and the new concept of the 'people's church' based upon it. The professor of systematic theology Yrjö J. E. Alanen questioned whether attempts to resolve social questions should be discussed from the pulpit. The social issues of the war period were in his opinion of such a nature that it was an insane undertaking to look for a new Gospel that would change the world for the better.

8

From reconstruction to welfare state

The churches during the reconstruction years

The Continuation War ended in September 1944. A significant change took place in the political situation in Finland, in that the banned Communist Party was now legalised. Under its leadership, the extreme left formed as the Finnish People's Democratic League (SKDL).

This change in the political climate was also reflected in the make-up of the government formed by Prime Minister J. K. Paasikivi in November 1944. The SKDL immediately became part of the government, with one of its representatives, Johan Helo, becoming Minister of Education. Many free thinkers and politicians on the far left believed the time had come for the complete separation of church and state, and they also planned to nationalise cemeteries.

Helo's approach to church issues was one of moderation, however, although he did put the separation of church and state on the gov-

ernment's programme. This was however rebuffed by Prime Minister J. K. Paasikivi, and the SKDL soon discovered that its radical religious policy was unpopular. Most of the party's electoral supporters saw the church as having shouldered its social responsibilities during the war years. The competing Social Democratic Party removed the demand for the separation of church and state from its political programme.

Post-War Europe found itself in the confrontation between opposing camps that became known as the 'Cold War'. Two great powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, were vying with each other with two different ideologies – capitalism and communism – and contrasting economic systems, the market economy of the West and a planned economy in the communist countries. Finland managed to preserve its independence and its political system of government based on European-style democracy. At the same time, it was more dependent than before on its eastern neighbour, the Soviet Union. Paasikivi, and after him Prime Minister, then President, Urho Kekkonen, were the key figures setting the political course followed by Finland. The 'dangerous years' at the end of the 1940s were followed by a phase of the Cold War marked by greater stability in social and ideological relations. Payment of the war reparations to the Soviet Union imposed on Finland under the conditions of the peace was treated as a matter of honour. This tied up much of Finland's industrial activity, but the production capacity freed up from the end of the 1950s also gave the country the wealth it needed for the consolidation of the institutions of a welfare state in the 1960s.

Changes in religious instruction

Some Social Democrats joined forces with the Communists in their efforts to cut back on denominational religious instruction in primary schools. Religion taught on a denominational basis remained part of

the new curriculum introduced in 1952, but with a reduced number of hours.

The next challenge to the denominational nature of religious instruction came at the end of the 1960s. Public education remained a cornerstone of Finnish society, but primary schools (*kansakoulu*) and secondary schools (*oppikoulu*) were merged into a comprehensive school (*peruskoulu*). Some educational reformers wanted to follow the Swedish model of 'objective religious instruction', which reduced the subject to the provision of information on religion. The majority still supported denominational content, however, based on the pupil's family background and designed to support the objectives of the reform of religious instruction, i.e. to help the pupils grow and develop into responsible members of society. The denominational system once again survived, but the new curriculum added instruction on other faiths, in both comprehensive schools and higher secondary schools (*lukio*).

Church weddings for divorcees?

The war left many kinds of personal and social difficulties in its wake. Many couples who had married on impulse in the war years broke up in peacetime. The breakdown of families and a decline in sexual moral standards were widely seen as a threat to the foundations of society. The church became involved when the Lutheran Church, at the General Synod of 1948, approved an amendment to the Church Law by a large majority. The amendment would have given pastors the right to refuse to marry a divorced person if their former spouse was still alive. The government took a different view, however. Paasikivi asked for a conversation with Archbishop Lehtonen. As the President later recorded in his diary:

> I said that my overall position was that a matter that been approved with a large majority in the General Synod should generally be submitted to Parliament for discussion. But I feared that if this issue was now referred to Parliament it would be damaging for the church. There would be some regrettable debate on the matter, and, worst of all, there was reason to fear that the proposal would not receive parliamentary approval. In my view the matter was not yet ready to be resolved.
>
> Lehtonen replied that as the chairman of the synod he had to respect what the meeting had decided. But personally he had the same view as I did – he believed that the issue was not ready to be decided.

So Paasikivi did not approve the proposal. He took the same view as a small minority of the General Synod: the 'people's church' had by its own wish taken on some tasks to be performed for the community, on its behalf. The celebration of marriages was one of these tasks, and accordingly the church could not now renegue on its responsibility in this regard. Paasikivi's solution to the problem was in accordance with the law, but unusual in that the normal practice was for state bodies to adopt amendments to the Church Law in line with proposals submitted by the church.

Social interpretation of the 'people's church' concept

The war created a new ideal for the pastor's role. Rather than preaching to their audience from a superior position, the pastors now rubbed shoulders with people in their everyday lives. A higher priority was placed on charitable work done by the church. Charitable collection-based fundraising was introduced at the end of the 1940s. It was carried out by volunteers, and initially all proceeds were donated solely to Finnish causes.

This new direction also generated some tensions. Revivalist Christians criticised the 'brother-in-arms' pastors for secularising the church and putting social work ahead of their spiritual role. In their view, everything the church did should be based on the word of God rather than the circumstances of human lives. The debate culminated at the beginning of the 1950s in a dispute between the vicar Erkki Niinivaara and Professor Osmo Tiililä. In his book entitled 'Secular and spiritual', Niinivaara attempted to demonstrate that the Pietist revival movement had distorted the true Lutheran concept of 'vocation' in Finnish Christianity, denying that temporal tasks were also part of the practice of religion. Tiililä severely criticised this stance. In his view, the Bible taught that there were two distinct spheres of life: God's realm and the realm of sin:

> This world has fallen, and for that reason is a world that is utterly condemned, cursed and under the sway of death, entirely in the power of evil. Since all people of this world are sinners, it is quite futile, and also contrary to the Bible, to talk in positive terms of this world and the value of its temporal domain.

Tiililä's severely critical stance on Niinivaara's work stirred up an exceptionally fierce doctrinal debate in Finnish church circles.

The churches and reconstruction

During the war years, the Lutheran Church had to organise its finances and administration with a greater degree of centralisation and autonomy. Some of the real estate owned by parishes was taken for the settlement of small farmers, but the losses of assets were not excessive. As early as 1919 the clergy's remuneration had changed over to a mainly monetary-based

system. The provision of a parsonage as the pastor's family home was still a form of benefit in kind, but the proceeds from the land around it was no longer a significant part of his income. The parishes in territory given up to the Soviet Union initially continued to operate after the war in the communities where most of their parishioners were located. These parishes were closed down in 1949, and the episcopal see of Vyborg was moved to Mikkeli.

Most Lutheran parishes gradually restored their finances after the war. The state provided grants mainly for the construction of the churches that had been destroyed in Lapland province during the war. The most significant of these was the church in Rovaniemi. Lutherans in the United States and the other Nordic countries also donated funds for reconstruction in the parishes in border areas.

During the war years more people joined the Lutheran Church than left it. Members again started to leave in large numbers at the end of the 1940s and in the 1950s. The reasons were generally financial. In 1959 tax collection for Lutheran and Orthodox parishes was integrated with the advance payment system used for municipal taxes, which immediately reduced the numbers of people leaving. There was no significant change in the church tax paid by communities. The basis for keeping church tax in place was the fact that the church performed tasks for society and the community, such as maintaining population registers and operating cemeteries.

The Paasikivi administration was at pains to build good cultural relations with the Soviet Union. In 1945, the Russian church expressed the hope that the Finnish Orthodox Church would return to the Moscow patriarchate. The position of the Finnish Ministry of Education with regard to the Finnish Orthodox Church was now different from Setälä's attitude back in the 1920s. Both it and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

wanted the return of the Finnish church to the Moscow Patriarchate. Most of the church leadership and lay members were opposed to the idea, although there was some support amongst the lay membership. Relations between the churches were strained for some years. The issue was resolved in 1955, when the Finnish Orthodox Church Assembly declared as its own position, and that of the Constantinople Patriarchate, that there was no need for any changes to canon-law relations. Unity of prayer was restored, and the New Valaam (*Valamo)* monastery, which for several years had been under the Moscow Patriarchate, was transferred back to the Finnish church.

Finland's most homogenous population of Orthodox believers before the Second World War was in the Ladoga region of Karelia, which was one of the areas ceded to Russia under the peace treaty. Of the pre-war Orthodox parishes, only 11 remained on the Finnish side of the border. A total of around 430,000 inhabitants were evacuated, including more than 50,000 Orthodox believers. Under the Resettlement Law passed in 1949, fourteen new parishes were established. Over the next ten years, churches, priests' residences and cemeteries were constructed in all of these.

Maintaining contacts with a highly dispersed membership became a difficult problem for the Orthodox Church. Bonds with Orthodoxy were also weakened by mixed marriages.

The churches and religious communities from 1960 to 1990

Table 2. Population by religious communities in 1960 and 1980. Source: Statistics Finland

	1960, number of people	1980, number of people
Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church	4,375,067	4,631,917
Finnish Orthodox Church	72,119	58,565
Other Orthodox	1,137	1,126
Finnish Free Church	6,634	10,272
Jehovah's Witnesses	6,423	11,502
Adventist churches	4,291	4,926
Catholic Church in Finland	2,136	3,100
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints	1,344	3,837
Baptist communities	1,977	1,861
Methodist churches	1,856	2,078
Jewish communities	1,384	1,343
Muslim communities	780	939
Anglicans	180	61
Civil register	243,017	372,640
Total	4,718,345	5,104,167

Table 3. The Finnish population by religious communities, 1945–1990. Source: Statistics Finland

Year	Lutherans, %	Orthodox, %	Members of other religious communities, %	Not members of any registered religious community, %	Not known, %
1945	96.0	1.8	0.3	1.9	–
1950	95.1	1.7	0.5	2.7	0.1
1960	92.4	1.4	0.7	5.5	0.1
1970	92.4	1.3	1.1	5.2	0.5
1980	90.2	1.1	0.9	7.8	0
1990	87.3	1.1	0.9	10.6	0

The trend in the numbers leaving the Lutheran majority church is not a linear one. While the percentages in the above table are falling, in the years up to the 1990s this is only at a moderate rate. The percentage drops below 90% for the first time at the beginning of the 1990s. In the 1970s the number of people leaving the church was for several years only slightly larger than the number joining. The membership of the Lutheran Church was actually growing from one year to the next, since the numbers of children born and people joining the church exceeded departures and deaths, thanks to the growing population at this time (see Tables 2 and 3). The increasingly private nature of religious practice and the simpler process now involved in leaving the church also introduced a new element into the parishioners' relationship with their church; leaving became a form of protest against specific decisions made by the church leadership. There was a wave of such departures after the General Synod meeting of 1984, for example, when the motion to approve female pastors did not attract a sufficient majority.

Membership of the Orthodox Church decreased up to the 1960s, as mass migration during the reconstruction period and mixed marriages weakened people's bonds with their church. But then, slowly but surely, the church consolidated the structure of parish life. Other developments such as the reformed liturgy also began to make the church more open towards its local community and the society within which it operated. The numbers joining the Orthodox Church began to rise, and the membership curve began to trend back upwards. To some extent this also reflected the increasing population of Russians living in Finland.

The membership numbers of registered minority communities remained relatively low. The Baptists and Methodists, as the longest established, maintained their traditional cohorts of supporters. A similar trend was observed for the Adventist communities and Jewish congregations. Membership of the Finnish Free Church almost doubled in the period from the war years to the 1990s.

The Pentecostal revivalists were, however, the largest Protestant minority after the Second World War, and their membership continued to grow from the 1960s through to the 1980s. The mainstream of the movement had attained a total of some 50,000 baptised members in the 1980s and 1990s. In terms of membership, they became Finland's second-largest Christian community, alongside the Orthodox Church. The movement, with its emphasis on adult baptism and personal decision-based Christianity, was still reluctant to register its community or parishes.

The communities of Jehovah's Witnesses and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormons) were interpreted in the Finnish religious context as being of Christian origin, but not as real Christian communities. Their networks extended all around the country, and numerous 'kingdom halls' of the Jehovah's Witnesses in particular were

built even in rural areas. Their membership numbers doubled in the decades from the 1960s to the 1990s.

✠ *The 'time of renunciation'*

In the mid-1960s, the university lecturer Jouko Siipi wrote a study entitled 'A time of renunciation' (*Luopumisen aika*) looking at departures from the church as a social phenomenon. This type of research had its origins in a report commissioned for the General Synod meeting in 1963. The Professor of Social Policy Heikki Waris had urged the church to take note of the report's conclusions, which were based on empirical statistical methods. This prompted the establishment of a Church Research Centre, and Jouko Siipi became its first director.

'The secularised Finnish metropolis' was the title of a doctoral thesis (1968) by the sociologist Osmo Koskelainen. His study examined Helsinki on the basis of statistical analyses, and showed clearly how secularisation was likely to impact on the situation of religion in Finland. Subsequent observations, however, showed that the pattern was not a simple, linear downward trend. As from the 1960s, what had been a homogenous and relatively immobile society became more differentiated. Citizens were increasingly ready to criticise their organisations and institutions. Along with the emergence of a new kind of collectivism, forming around new ideologies, at the same time Finnish society was growing ever more individualised, in a way that had not been possible during the long years of war. The culture became increasingly pluralistic, and a range of different lifestyles emerged. The process was further compounded by a wave of urbanization. A similar centralisation trend had been seen in numerous countries in Continental Europe some decades earlier.

Public opinion became increasingly polarised. A more active media sector provided space for the expression of both new liberalism and left-wing ideologies. Yet at the same time protest from religious movements intensified. Personal decision-based religious belief began to garner committed followers within the membership of both the majority Lutheran Church and several minority movements. In his doctoral thesis, Seppo Häkkinen describes the processes taking place as follows: 'The position of religion at the centre of people's values landscape weakened, and they started to form their own moralities and values for many different areas of their lives. Yet religion as such did not disappear, but rather changed in its nature. There was an accumulation of pent-up religious feeling at the individual level, which led to a polarisation both within the population and among church members. As a result of growing general religiosity and an increasingly pluralistic society, questions of religious truth gave way to religious relativism.' ✠

The Lutheran Church in an increasingly pluralistic society

The watershed decade of the 1960s

In spite of the real difficulties they faced, the churches had felt relatively secure during the years of reconstruction. The situation began to change at the beginning of the 1960s. As the industrialisation process continued, more and more of the rural population were attracted to the cities. Some migrated to neighbouring countries, particularly Sweden, to find work. Radio and television were bringing global problems to the attention of a

wide audience. Traditional institutions such as schools, the armed forces and the church, had difficulty in adjusting to the rapid changes taking place. On the other hand, young critics of the society and culture had ample opportunity to get their message across, on radio and television and in the print media. The church was viewed as undemocratic, and as defending outmoded concepts of morality.

Hannu Salama's 'Midsummer Night's Dances' (*Juhannustanssit*) appeared in 1964. Archbishop Martti Simojoki castigated the work for 'in the manner of a drunken sermon, spreading hateful obscenities about Jesus and the disciples'. The public controversy led to a trial for blasphemy. The writer and publisher were convicted, but the debate showed that the criminal law provisions defining the offence of blasphemy were now obsolete. This was also the view taken by the *Kotimaa* newspaper, while arguing that the church had to be part of the debate taking place on the new directions in literature:

> 'The glory of God in the courtroom' is a nonsense, if only because the church's Lord and Master was explicitly blasphemed, in life and in death. The courtroom is not however the way of the church. This recent spectacle is a purely legal confrontation, played out between the authorities and the lawyers.
>
> But the blatant degradation of language associated with the current wave of literary expression is in any event a phenomenon that means the church needs to examine its responsibility with regard to culture as its grows and changes. Jesus Christ, our blasphemed Lord, lived and died for the weak. The role of His church is also to die for the weak in a society of the strong. The weak are first and foremost children who are unable to protect themselves, and young people, who lack the critical faculty required to choose their influences.

The radical wing of the Lutheran Church, particularly some of the Christian student movement, were ready to acknowledge that the church was out of date, and called for an abrupt change of course. Most supporters of the 'people's church' found this criticism excessive, but justified to some extent. The feeling was that moderate changes were required in order to adapt the structure of the church to the changes taking place in society. The General Synod of the Lutheran Church set up several working groups to prepare reform proposals.

Tensions within the Lutheran Church were rising at the same time as public criticism was at its strongest. Evangelising revivalist Christianity was critical both of the church and the secularisation of society, and of the renunciation of traditional values. There was a split in the student Christian movement. In 1964 its neo-pietist branch organised as the Finnish Evangelist Lutheran Student Mission (*Suomen Evankelisluterilainen ylioppilaslähetys*). It emphasised the conscious adoption of faith, and opposed the radicalised wing of the student movement. The neo-pietist protest spread, and the Finnish Lutheran Mission (*Suomen Evankelisluterilainen Kansanlähetys*) was established in 1967. It was intended to become a home mission organisation embracing the whole of the neo-pietist movement. The older evangelist internal mission organisations did not however merge with the People's Mission, but continued their activities independently.

Church reforms such as female ordination and the retranslation of the Bible gave rise to a protest movement termed the 'old believers' church policy group. It saw the democratisation of the church as eroding the authority of the Bible and Lutheran doctrine, and drew most of its supporters from the neo-Pietist revivalist movement.

Female pastors

The first female students had begun to enrol in the Faculty of Theology at the end of the 19th century, but at that time the church was not able to offer the graduates positions as members of the clergy. Most of them found employment as teachers of religion or in the service of Christian organisations. In 1931 Lauri Ingman received a visit from a delegation of female theologians seeking work opportunities at parish level, and the right to administer the sacraments. The archbishop responded that while he did not see female pastors as a possibility, he believed that parishes should pay them for their work with children and young people. Several urban parishes then proceeded to do so.

The proportion of female students of theology increased after the Second World War. In 1953 the Synod decided to propose the creation of a special position within the structure of the clergy for women who passed the final examination in theology. This was not implemented until 1963, with the position of lector (*lehtori*). A majority in the Synod continued to reject the much-debated idea of female pastors. The issue did not go away, however, particularly since other Lutheran Churches were, one after the other, accepting female ordination.

In Finland the debate was long and intense, but it was clear which way things were heading. In 1973 the Synod agreed by 70 votes to 33 that female ordination was possible on the basis of the church's belief and doctrine. The actual reform did not proceed, however, since a change to the Church Law required a majority of three-quarters. The majority fell a few votes short of the number required again in 1984, but in 1986 the Synod approved female ordination by a majority of 87 votes to 21. The first female pastors were ordained in March 1988.

Public holidays

On the Finnish calendar, after the Second World War there were still a large number of public holidays, such as the First and Second days of Christmas, New Year's Day, Epiphany, the Second day of Easter, Ascension Day, Whit Monday and Independence Day. Celebrating Christmas, New Year and Independence Day on weekdays when applicable was seen as a matter of course, but the other holidays were regarded as disrupting production in an industrialising society.

The question of public holidays became more pressing on the transition to a five-day week in Finland, at the start of the 1970s. The Synod, which under the Church Law was responsible for laying down the feast days and holidays to be observed, acceded to the proposals from employers' organisations for Epiphany to be moved to the nearest Saturday. The Synod also moved Ascension Thursday to Saturday, renaming it as 'Christ's Ascension Day', and Whit Monday was replaced with a 'Saturday before Whitsun'. These festivals did not exist anywhere else in the Christian world, and nor did they survive for long in Finland. Little more than a decade later, Epiphany and Ascension Thursday were moved back to their former day. The Saturday before Whitsun was also removed, but Whit Monday was not reinstated.

New Lutheran liturgy and new-look church rituals

The war had disrupted attendance at church, but on the coming of peace, people started going to church again. Annual attendance numbers climbed to levels well above those seen in the 1930s. The impact left by the war and the ongoing state of uncertainty drew people back towards religion. However, attendance at church services began to fall off again already in the 1950s, and that has been the trend ever since. At the same time, parishes were also offering a more varied programme of activi-

ties, and increasing numbers of people began to attend such alternative church occasions. Gathering to sing Christmas carols at Advent was one example, and unofficial services such as St Thomas's mass were a popular attraction in large cities in Finland.

A new church service book was completed in 1968, after a quarter of a century's work on the project. It made only a few changes to the liturgy, but provided scope for further modifications. The style of church services changed: sermons were shorter than before, and the pastor's black mantle gave way to brightly coloured liturgical vestments. Greater importance was given to church music, and its quality improved. Communion started to be celebrated more often than previously, in some parishes every week. From 1973, children were able to attend communion with their parents.

A proposal for a new hymn book was finalised in 1984. It drew praise for the addition of some fresh new hymns, but criticism for the hymn book committee's decision to modernise the language of the old hymns, in many cases with less than successful results. The Synod modified the proposal, so that in the 1986 hymn book, *Enkeli taivaan* (From heaven above to earth I came), *Jo joutui armas aika* (the Summer Hymn) and other well-known hymns remained in the collection.

Church rituals remained highly significant for Finnish Christians. The liturgy approved in 1963 reflected the spirit of the times. It was based on the Lutheran doctrinal tradition, but with formulas pared back to the essentials. For example, the text of the most widely used graveside blessing was reduced in length. The new liturgy approved in 1984 provided greater flexibility for the structure of church services and a wider range of rituals. There was a clearer focus on active participation by worshippers. The new rituals included, for example, the blessing of newly appointed parish office-bearers. And following the example of the Catholic and Orthodox liturgies, texts for the blessing of people's homes were also included.

From National Romanticism and Art Nouveau to modernism

National Romanticism held sway on the Finnish cultural scene at the transition from the 19th to the 20th century, in public building construction as in art. Some tens of art nouveau churches were built during this period, based on the underlying concept of a union between architecture and the pictorial arts.

The church at Muuruvesi displays some characteristic features of art nouveau, with its asymmetrical design, large round window, curved tower outline, and use of granite as the construction material. It was designed by Josef Stenbäck, Finland's most productive church architect.

Photo: Arto Kuorikoski

In the 1920s and 1930s, church designs and architecture prizes were essentially a competition between light classicism and new functionalism. Church interiors were long, thin and high. Decoration was less in evidence or eliminated altogether. A slender Italian-style *campanile* (bell-tower) was a characteristic feature of many church designs. The winner of the competition for the design of the Vallila church in 1927, now known as St Paul's Church, Helsinki, was Bertel Liljeqvist. At that time it was the practice to build church complexes that included 'parish houses' for other parish activities, and also accommodation for workers residing in the parish. Photo: Arto Kuorikoski

Professor Simo Paavilainen has described the 1950s as the 'golden decade' of modern church architecture in Finland. This was the period that produced Alvar Aalto's most significant church buildings in Finland, the 'Cross of the plain' (*Lakeuden risti*), in Seinäjoki and the church at Vuoksenniska. Numerous other leading architects were also active at the same time. Many of the new ideas attracted their fair share of criticism or opposition, and even Aalto incurred the displeasure of experts and churchgoers alike. According to Professor Juha Seppo, however, the then Bishop of Mikkeli, Martti Simojoki, was influenced by Aalto's vision of architecture as a struggle for humanity. 'Simojoki believed that architects like Aalto, in contrast with the design approach to architecture and building of a few decades earlier, were not solely concerned with questions of practical utility, but rather asserted the status of the individual human being within society as a whole'. In particular, Simojoki praised Aalto's concept of an architecture that humanises an increasingly mechanical environment as a 'great and beautiful thought'. 'His task as an architect was to protect us, by creating a space in which we could breathe and rest in peace', he said. Photo: Arto Kuorikoski

The feelings generated by the play of natural and artificial light are a central concern in the work of the architect of the church in Myyrmäki, Juha Leiviskä, in the same way as in the famous baroque churches of Central Europe.
Photo: Arto Kuorikoski

The copper-lined exterior and bell-tower of the Kuokkala church are the most contemporary landmark for the modern-day settler arriving in the suburb of Jyväskylä in the Middle Finland region.
Photo: Arto Kuorikoski

Parish social work and youth work

Before the Second World War, church charitable work had been the province of church associations and deaconess institutes. The new concept of the 'people's church' required the parish as such to take responsibility for this area. Accordingly, in 1944 a provision was incorporated in the Church Law whereby each parish was to establish the office of a deaconess, for which less well-off parishes would be able to receive assistance from the church Central Fund.

The deaconesses had to be trained nurses. They visited the old and the sick, offering help, advice and medical treatment. Some of these roles were the responsibility of the municipal authorities, but they were not always able to perform them satisfactorily. Growing parishes had no difficulty in establishing new social work positions. In the decade of the 1960s, the state of the finances of municipalities gradually allowed an improvement in the level of health and social care towards the ideals of the welfare state. The Public Health Law of 1972 changed the situation completely. Parish deaconesses were to cease all involvement in health care tasks, which in most cases had represented more than half of their workload. These functions were now the sole responsibility of health authorities of the municipality.

In spite of these changes, the Lutheran Church did not give up its parish charitable work activities. There was still important work to be done for the old and for various groups of the handicapped and socially excluded. Parish charitable work began to be more clearly part of the 'third sector' within the community. The economic crisis and widespread unemployment at the beginning of the 1990s created new issues for parish charitable work to address. The food banks run by parishes today are in many ways comparable to the food packages handed out by the deaconesses in the period immediately after the war.

The 'brother-in-arms' pastors returning from the war started up boys' and girls' clubs and activities for young people who had completed the confirmation class run by the parish. The form of these activities was copied directly from programmes conducted by religious associations. Leaders were recruited from among enthusiastic lay parishioners, often parents of the young people involved. Many urban parishes set up 'youth pastor' positions, filled by recent theology graduates.

Within the space of a few years, youth work developed into an activity conducted on a national level, based on a church charitable work paradigm. Admittedly, in the 1950s there may still have been some vicars in rural districts who believed that the only youth work needed was catechism sessions and confirmation class. The statistics on church activities show that the network of boys' and girls' clubs and youth groups, and the numbers taking part, continued to grow through to the mid-1960s. The Church Training College established in Järvenpää after the War provided training for youth workers, and later also for deacons wishing to focus on social work. As from the end of the 1950s, parishes began to establish full-time youth leadership positions, which made a decisive contribution towards developing youth work into a genuine parish and church activity.

Specialised social services

After the war, the Lutheran Church started up family counselling programmes, first in Helsinki and Tampere at the end of the 1940s, later expanding to other regions around the country. The pastors focusing on working with married couples and families had been trained in therapy work abroad, but their expertise was also used in the international work of ecumenical organisations. In the 1970s, municipal authorities and voluntary organisations added their own family counselling services to this

London seamen's church.
Photo: Suomen Merimieslähetysseura

sector that had first been launched by the church. Another form of social work pioneered in Finland by Lutheran parishes was the helpline. The helpline service was launched in the 1950s, staffed by trained counsellors and laypeople, and was later emulated by numerous other helpline services.

In the church's work in the industrial environment, the same ideological spirit as in the war years prevailed, along the lines followed by churches in the English-speaking countries. The principle was for pastors to step away from their parish work and move into the facto-

ries, standing beside the workers on the production line. The objective was to forge links between the church and industrial workers. Pastoral work in this setting also provided the basis for other community-based church work activities.

The Common Responsibility Campaigns (*Yhteisvastuuskeräys*) were originally designed to ensure that the church would still have enough funds for its activities even if it lost the right to collect church tax. The church tax remained in place, however, so the funds raised were allocated to initiatives first in Finland, and later also abroad.

The Lutheran Church's communication operation started in similar fashion. Over the decades, newspapers and radio had taken an interest in the church's activities. But now the church suddenly woke up to the need to organise its own radio devotional programme, and also its own print media, to make the community aware of its activities. National church media outlets were therefore created. In fact, a number of individual parishes had been publishing their own parish newsletters since the start of the 20th century. As from the 1960s a network of parish newspapers covering almost the entire country began to emerge.

✠ *Martti Simojoki – leader of the people's church*

'The only power I have is to hand out provost titles to deserving pastors', Martti Simojoki once said. This was not a statement made in his official capacity, nor was it the whole truth. Simojoki led the Lutheran Church in Finland from the beginning of the 1950s to the end of the 1970s. His authority was based not on academic degrees or official positions, however, but on the strength of his character and personality. 'Matters like this are hardly worth putting to the vote', he would often say when chairing meetings of the Synod – and so no vote would be taken.

Martti Simojoki.
Photo: Kirkon kuvapankki

Finland's most outstanding church leader in the post-war era was born in 1908, into a clerical family supporting the revivalist movements of Savo and Ostrobothnia. He became an opinion leader in the student Christian movement, which had originated in the English-speaking countries and spread to Finland via revivalist Christians in Norway. In the initial phase of his career he led the preaching and teaching practical section of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Helsinki from the end of the 1930s to the start of the 1950s. During the war years he was one of the leading members of the 'brothers-in-arms' pastors. He directed the Järvenpää Church Training College for one year, but was then appointed Bishop of the Mikkeli diocese in 1951. He then became the first Bishop of the newly established Helsinki diocese in 1959, before being appointed as archbishop, a position he filled until 1978.

Simojoki kept up with current international research and scholarship throughout his career, and was happy to draw on the expertise of

younger members of the Faculty of Theology. Most of his publications were policy addresses given at General Synod meetings, but his works also include the devotional book 'Word of the day' (*Päivän sana*), which went through tens of editions.

As a leader of the church, Simojoki was a pragmatist. He attended every General Synod from 1943, and was involved in every stage of the process of the amendments to the Church Law. He was thoroughly familiar with every part of the church landscape, and all the groups within it, large and small. While his roots were in the revivalist tradition of Savo and Ostrobothnia, he did not carry the banner for that, or any other, revivalist movement. He insisted on the church's right to express its view, but understood that there would be differing opinions on any given issue.

In autumn 1964, when voices from the left in Parliament accused the church of being undemocratic, just as the amended Church Law was going through its final stages, the archbishop extended a hand to the workers as follows:

> We could hardly make a greater mistake than to interpret the speeches we hear from the left wing in Parliament and what we read in the newspapers as negative and hostile with regard to the church. I would rather see in them a hand held out in friendship by the working man towards the church. That hand may have a rough side to it, but it is an honest hand, the hand of the Finnish worker.

His speech silenced the critics, and the amended Church Law was duly approved by Parliament – not just because of the works spoken, but also the stature of the person who spoke them.

A multi-level structure had been established for the central administration of the church already before Simojoki's term as archbishop. This

allowed the sharing of administrative responsibility for the national church between the bishops, so that each bishop, as well as running the pastoral affairs of his own diocese, was also expected to take charge of one of the national functions of the church. Simplifying the administrative structure had been adopted as an objective already in the 1960s. Around the transition from the 1960s to the 1970s, the committee on church administration chaired by Bishop Erkki Kansanaho advocated the introduction of a straight-line organisational structure. Simojoki used his authority to steer the church towards a less drastic compromise solution, based on theological considerations rather than the creation of an effective operational structure. The administration of the church was to support the church and its members in 'living in faith' and 'attaining faith', he said.

During Simojoki's term as archbishop, the Lutheran Church began to open up to the active cultivation of ecumenical and international links. He focused in particular on relations with the Lutheran World Federation and organising a doctrinal dialogue between the Lutheran Church and the Russian Orthodox Church. An important achievement in both cases was his success in recruiting experts in theological and other disciplines to assist the church's International Relations Committee. ✠

✠ *Osmo Tiililä – critic of the people's church*

'I'm just contrary by nature', the professor used to declaim, looking down at his audience, the corners of his mouth turned resolutely downwards. The students of the 1960s understood exactly what he meant. The professor of dogmatics was a very popular lecturer, who clearly meant every word he spoke – questions of religion and God were matters of life and death for him. But he was also irascible and stubborn, and easily became

Osmo Tiililä.
Kuva: Nyblin / Museovirasto

embroiled in disputes with his colleagues. A few years earlier he had left the ministry, then the Lutheran Church. What were the future pastors and female theologians in the auditorium to make of that?

The exit of Osmo Tiililä (1904–1972) from the church was a single, dramatic act of protest, but it was also the end point of a long process. His early life path had been similar to that of Martti Simojoki: theology student, then leader of the student Christian movement, and on to a university career. He did not go on to become a bishop, however, in spite of a measure of support in some of the elections conducted during the 1950s.

Tiililä was a latter-day supporter of the biblical approach advocated by Gustaf Johansson, who had disapproved of the Young Church pastors' new ways of working. Tiililä's barbs were aimed at the programme of the 'brothers-in-arms pastors', and he got into a quarrel with his old friend and colleague Simojoki. He believed that the church had grown secular, speaking out on things of this world, taking up this or that

worthy cause. But this was not the church's task, he argued. Its role was to spread the Gospel, not to make the world a better place. 'The whole point of the church's existence is that we are mortal beings', he said.

Tiililä was not alone in his protest. Many of those who did not approve of his exit from the church, or disliked his contrary, impulsive nature, still held him in high regard. The neo-pietist movement expressed support for his actions, but he was unable to concur with the movement's overly simplistic views. ✠

✠ *Seppo A. Teinonen, 'Rome and us'*

'All my predecessors as Professor of Dogmatics were crazy, and I am at risk myself'. The speaker's colleagues and students were well aware that this risk was real – yet Teinonen's was a highly productive form of 'insanity'.

Finland's most learned theologian of the last century was born into a middle-class policeman's family in 1924. He published his first work, on missionary work in Ovamboland, when he was still a theology student. He was intending to become a missionary and an expert on Africa, but these plans did not materialise. Instead he became Secretary General of the Finnish Ecumenical Council, a position he held for a decade, before being appointed Professor of Ecumenics in 1966. Then four years later he succeeded Tiililä as Professor of Dogmatics.

Teinonen was the observer for the Lutheran World Federation at the Vatican Council, and wrote detailed reports on the proceedings for the Finnish Theological Journal (*Teologinen Aikakauskirja*). On his return he lectured on the Council and its momentous decisions, and wrote his book 'Rome and Us' (*Rooma ja me*). Thanks to Teinonen and his students, Finnish theologians had a better sense of what was happening

Seppo A. Teinonen.
Photo: Kirkon kuvapankki

in the contemporary Catholic Church than their fellow-Protestants in other countries.

He was one of the university's best lecturers, and highly sought-after as a leader of educational tours. He led such tours to the Vatican, the University of Salamanca, and the monasteries and convents of Mallorca.

Like Tiililä, Teinonen became estranged from the Finnish Lutheran Church, but in his case without stirring up any unnecessary fuss. On his retirement he moved to Andalusia, and never returned. He converted to Catholicism, but had no wish to criticise his former church:

> The Lutheran Church is my mother. It was in that church that I was baptised, that is to say reborn. You don't criticise your own mother. As a child at home you may make some remarks against the way things

are done in the household, but when you go to visit your grandparents, so to speak, you don't criticise your mother while you are there.

In explanation of his conversion, he wrote as follows:

> I did not choose Andalusia – rather it lured me to it like an old spinster. In that part of the world the Christian church is the Catholic Church, just as in Greece the church is the Orthodox Church, for example. If I was living in Greece I would belong to the Orthodox Church, and leaving it would be to depart from Christ. Here I have to be a Catholic. I want to go to mass every day, and that is not possible if you are not a Catholic.
>
> At mass, no-one is interested in your motives for being there or how pious you are. No-one tries to impose their spiritual counsels on you, or tell you what you should do. Saint Teresa once said that God has thousands of paths for us to follow. No-one, not even a priest, knows what my path is. Only God knows that. ✠

Democracy as a model for church administration reform

Splitting of the Church Law governing the Lutheran Church

Over the decades, a series of amendments on points of detail had been made to the Church Law passed in 1869. Its language was now old-fashioned, and in some respects the successive amendments had obscured the underlying structure of the text. The General Synod therefore

initiated a reform of the Law. This represented a major undertaking, but was ultimately aimed solely at clarifying the language and structure of the legislation. There was pressure from some quarters for modifications to the substance of the text, but the most significant change made was the provision giving parishes the right to use their tax revenue to fund missionary activities. The synod approved the Church Law amendment proposal in 1963, and the new text came into force in 1964.

But it was also becoming clear that a more fundamental review of the Church Law was needed. The first priority was to split the text into its component parts, i.e. the Church Law as such, dealing with matters that were properly the subject-matter of legislation, and implementing regulations to supplement the provisions of the Law. Along with provisions normally within the domain of a law, the Church Law of 1869 also contained conditions that would customarily be the province of regulations. This had been done deliberately, so as to protect the Lutheran Church and Finnish legislation against arbitrary intervention by the Tsar, since a law always had to be proposed by the Diet, whereas regulations could be approved by the monarch alone.

The main objective was for the Church Law to include primarily provisions regarding the relations between the church and society, and for spiritual concerns to be dealt with in the regulatory provisions relating solely to the church. The new law came into force in 1994, and was noticeably shorter than before. Two sets of regulatory provisions were in fact adopted: regulations on the church's organisational structure, and separate provisions on its electoral system. The General Synod would now decide independently on these matters, whereas amendments to the Church Law would still have to be debated in the state legislature.

But once again the new Law only amended Schauman's law of 1869 on points of detail. The biggest problem was where to draw the line

between the Church Law on the one hand, and the church regulatory structure on the other. Some of those involved in drafting the amendments would have preferred a still clearer demarcation of the church's internal and spiritual concerns as falling exclusively within the domain of church organisational matters, and hence governed by the church itself. But in fact the new law still contained references to the church's internal affairs, such as the conduct of church services, or issues relating to the clergy, so that in many cases changes could not be made to the church's organisational structure without having regard to relevant provisions in the Church Law. The key requirement for severing the bonds traditionally associated with being a state church was to remove from the Church Law the longstanding principle whereby the administration of the church at the highest, national, level was controlled by the state executive.

Centralised administration

A centralised council structure for the Lutheran Church had been outlined already during the years between the world wars. However, the reform implemented in 1944 left central administrative functions widely dispersed, and based on cooperation between many different bodies. Governance processes were split between the Church Council, the Extended Bishops' Conference, the Bishops' Conference, the Ministry of Education, the Cabinet, and the President of the Republic. Yet the Orthodox Church had had its own Church Council since the 1920s. The Lutheran Church now also had its Church Council, but because of the cautious line adopted for the reform, its function was initially to formulate recommendations rather than to take decisions. The reason for this cautious approach was that since the end of the 19th century, the church had found it difficult to decide how to resolve the respective

weightings and task assignments of the General Synod, the bishops and the Church Council, an administrative body comprising lay members and the bishops.

Even after this, the state still made the final decision on many matters of church governance. Most of these decisions were made in line with the church's recommendations, although there were times when the state actively interfered with the process. For example, in 1956 the church recommended Seinäjoki as the episcopal see for a newly created diocese, but the Cabinet decided to make Lapua the diocese centre. And as its first bishop, President Urho Kekkonen appointed the candidate who received only the second-highest number of votes (Eero Lehtinen), on the basis of the President's powers under the Law. The first-placed candidate was Olavi Kares, later elected Bishop of Kuopio.

Under this organisational structure, the direction of the church's activities as a whole was the responsibility of the Extended Bishops' Conference. By 1969, dedicated committees had been set up on public relations, church charitable work, youth work, education and culture, family counselling, activities within the wider community, mission work, women's affairs, pastoral care for the sick, and higher education and research. The following decade saw the establishment of the Church Training Centre, the Church Worship and Music Committee and the Church International Relations Committee. This long list of sectors of activity illustrates the many and varied ideals flowing from the interpretation of the 'people's church' concept in the post-war period, and the tendency to look towards foreign models for solutions to the problems raised by an increasingly secular society.

Changes were made to the church's central administration structure in 1974, with the abolition of the Extended Bishops' Conference. Responsibility for significant strategic decisions was transferred to the

General Synod. Previously the synod had met every five years, but it was now to operate with an annual cycle, and required to meet at least twice a year.

Some of the tasks of the Extended Bishops' Conference were transferred to the Church Council. It was in charge of the church's general committees, which were appointed as the central body for each sector. The effect of the most recent administrative reform, in 1994, has been to make church governance more clearly the function of a central church administrative structure. Only a few church administration issues are now subject to approval from, or a final decision by, state bodies. For example, it is now the Church Council that approves proposals on building new churches and the drawing of parish boundaries. The new Church Law does however stipulate that 'parish boundaries are to correspond with municipality boundaries, so that the whole of the municipality falls within the territory of the same parish or same group of parishes'. This means that changes in parish demarcations can arise from the church's wishes at a particular time, but also as a result of changes in municipal boundaries.

Parish governance

In 1970 the system for the Lutheran Church's parish elections was changed to a system similar to that used for local body elections. Candidates were now elected on the basis of proportional vote allocations received by each electoral college. Under the previous electoral system, some small groups of parishioners had been able to capture a majority of the elected officers' positions. The church expected the new electoral system to boost participation in parish elections, and voting numbers did indeed rise several times over, to an average of 15–20%. The participation level was not however as high as the church had expected.

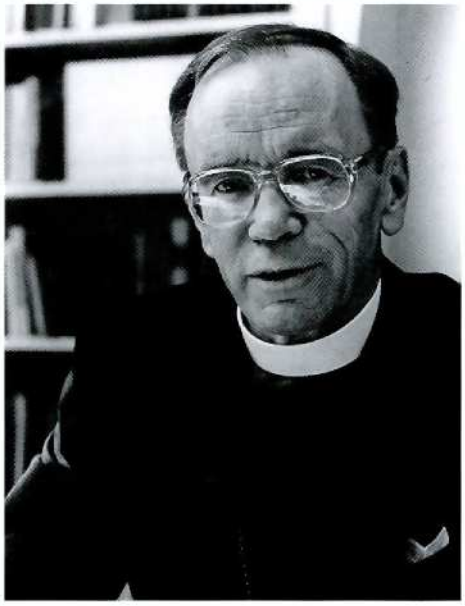
During the 1970s, structural changes to parish administration brought the system into line with the local government system for municipalities. The chairman of the parish executive council was now a layperson, rather than the vicar as before.

✠ *John Vikström – archbishop and social activist*

John Vikström (1931–) was the son of a teacher, descended from an old peasant family in Kronoby in Swedish-speaking Ostrobothnia. His father was a primary school teacher, lay preacher, and also an elected official of both the parish and the municipality. The household was characterised by an openness towards a diverse range of social and cultural attitudes and ideas, yet Vikström was encouraged to study for his first entrance examination in theology at the University of Helsinki, since the Swedish-speaking faculty at Åbo Akademi was seen among Ostrobothnian revivalist circles as liberal. He did however take his doctorate at Åbo Akademi, with a thesis entitled 'Religion and culture: the fundamental problem in G. G. Rosenqvist's religious thought' (*Religion och kultur: grundproblemet i G. G. Rosenqvists religiösa tänkande*).

In 1970 Vikström was elected as bishop of the Swedish-speaking diocese of Borgå. In 1982 he became bishop of the archdiocese of Turku, and he was archbishop of the Finnish church until 1998. While Bishop of Borgå he participated as the representative of the Swedish-speaking parishes in some momentous reforms involving the church as a whole. For many of these issues, the time when the final decision had to be taken fell during his term as archbishop. Thus it was under his leadership that the Synod approved the new hymn book (1986) and the translation of the Bible, undertaken as an interdisciplinary and ecumenical partnership project (1992). The first female pastors

John Vikström.
Photo: Kirkon kuvapankki



of the Finnish church were also ordained in 1988. Vikström had been actively involved in the amendments to the Church Law, as a member of the committee on the organisational structure, among other capacities. The new Church Law, more concise than its predecessor, was submitted by the Synod and duly approved by Parliament in 1994. It was complemented by regulatory provisions on the church's organisational system, which were adopted by the church on its own behalf. The new legislative and regulatory package also clarified the detail on the decision-making authority of the Church Council in the church's executive administration.

In his role as leader of the church's external relations, Vikström's most important ecumenical priority was cooperation between the Finnish Lutheran Church and the Catholic Church. In 1985 he visited Pope John Paul II in Rome, in a delegation also including Archbishop Paavali of the Finnish Orthodox Church and Paul Verschuren, the Catholic

Bishop of Helsinki. This started the tradition of annual visits to the Pope by Finnish bishops, and Pope John Paul also reciprocated with a visit to Finland in 1989. At that time Vikström received the Pope in the Cathedral of Turku and the episcopal residence. In 1998 he made a visit to the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomeos I in Constantinople, as the first archbishop of the Finnish Lutheran Church to do so, along with Orthodox Archbishop Johannes.

Vikström continued his predecessors' efforts to make the church an outgoing institution interacting with wider society. He became a well-known figure in the 1990s as a perceptive and insightful commentator on social and ethical issues, drawing on his intensive research in these areas in earlier years. He was particularly critical of neo-liberal economics, and introduced a fresh new approach in the church's engagement with social issues and the problems people faced in their everyday lives. His network of contacts and acquaintances extended into the cultural sphere, academia, the business world and sport, and his analyses of ethical issues covered all these areas. ✠

The Finnish Orthodox Church

At the end of the 1950s, the Finnish Orthodox Church was experiencing a decline in membership numbers. Parishioners often lived far away from each other, and the establishment of strong bonds with their local parish took some time. Mixed marriages caused a further dilution of Orthodox believers' allegiance to their church. While the Orthodox faith continued to represent a strong and distinctive identity, believers faced real difficulties in practising their faith in an alien environment.

But in the 1960s this situation began to turn around. Concerns were now voiced in Orthodox circles at the discrepancy in legislative and regulatory respects between the Orthodox and Lutheran Churches in Finland. Whereas the rules governing the Lutheran Church were set down in the Church Law, the equivalent rules for the Orthodox faith had been adopted merely as regulatory provisions under the church's own authority, in the regulations of 1925. The Orthodox Church Assembly formulated a draft text for similar legislation, which, after consideration by the legislative committee, was passed as the Orthodox Church Law in 1969. This meant that the Finnish Orthodox Church could now legitimately see itself as an equal partner standing alongside its Lutheran counterpart.

With the further consolidation of Orthodox parishes, the church began to look outwards and focus on wider issues. There was a growing realisation that Orthodoxy offered opportunities for Finland to build bridges to the east, with Russia and Byzantium. Icon painting flourished, in turn leading to new ecumenical links. The older generation of monks at the New Valaam (*Valamo*) monastery was beginning to die out. Archbishop Paavali noted this situation, and took the opportunity to revitalise the monastery community. As the old peasantry-based tradition of the monastery faded, within the space of a few decades New Valaam was transformed into a vibrant and active cultural centre, incorporating a library, an icon and ecclesiastical textile conservation unit, and an adult education institute. The warden of the monastery, Father Ambrosius (later Metropolitan of Helsinki) undertoook the task of creating guidelines for the reorganisation of the monastery community.

At the end of the 1970s, archbishop Paavali set about preparing the way for autocephaly, or full autonomy of the Finnish Orthodox Church. Under canon law this required at least three currently serving bishops.

New Valaam (*Uusi Valamo*) in Heinävesi.
Photo: Martti Markoff

New episcopal positions were created by establishing the new diocese of Oulu in 1979, with the Finnish state's support, which was also to cater for the needs of the Koltta Sami population in the north. An assistant bishop's position was also established in the Karelia diocese, under the title 'Bishop of Joensuu'. The autocephaly issue remained under active discussion for some years, but the Ecumenical Patriarchate was not willing to grant this status to the Finnish church. It believed this was a matter for the Great Synod, but there was no prospect of a meeting of that body being convened. Accordingly, the question remained for the moment on the list of 'matters pending'.

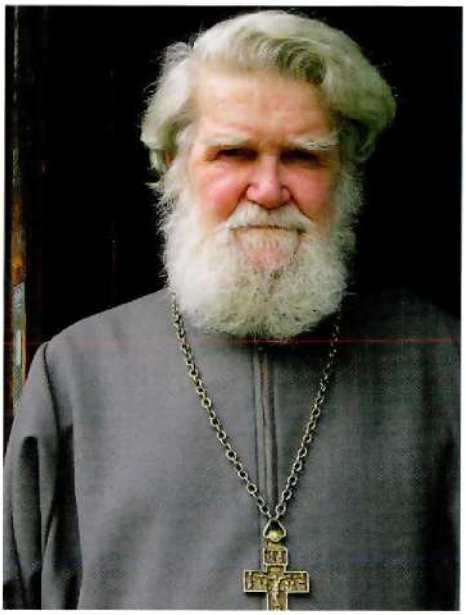
The arrival of a new generation of church leaders was already evident on the retirement of Archbishop Herman in 1960. The candidate elected as his successor was the ordained monk Paavali (Guseff/Olmari, d. 1988). He had discovered Orthodoxy and its historical roots while in

East Karelia during the war. He aimed to make its cultural and liturgical tradition part of contemporary Finnish reality. From the late 1970s, Paavali began to introduce changes to the liturgy, as one of the first in the Orthodox world to undertake this task. His ideas on the subject were drawn from the seminary of St Vladimir in North America, which was actively researching the history of the liturgy and worship practices.

In 1969 Bishop Johannes (Rinne, b. 1923) was elected as Bishop of Helsinki, and brought a different perspective that complemented the views of Paavali. The office of Bishop of Helsinki changed to the position of Metropolitan in 1972. Metropolitan Johannes became the archbishop on Paavali's retirement in 1987. Johannes was of Lutheran origins, but as a student had familiarised himself with the theology of Byzantium. His academic training was in dogmatics and as a specialist in Orthodox canon law, and he actively cultivated links with the Patriarchate in Constantinople and the church in Greece. As the leader of his church, he had a wide circle of acquaintances in cultural and political circles.

✠ *The Catholic Church in Finland*

Growth in membership of the Catholic Church remained moderate up to the beginning of the 1980s, when international migration started to have an impact. Membership passed the 6,000 mark in the mid-1990s. Most of the members were Finns, however. Parishes established in the years up to the early 1990s were now active in towns and cities in northern Finland, Helsinki, Turku, Jyväskylä, Tampere and Kouvola. By that time there were also some ten different orders of monks and nuns operating in the country, helping the clergy with tasks such as religious instruction. Most of the priests came from the Netherlands in the years immediately after the Second World War, and later from Poland.



Father Robert de Caluwé and the Myllyjärvi Cultural Centre. Photo: Katolisen kirkon tiedotuskeskus

Following their arrival from France, in 1949 the Dominicans established the Studium Catholicum in Helsinki, as an institution providing library and archive services. At around the same time, the Myllyjärvi ecumenical cultural centre set up in Espoo by the Uniate priest Robert de Caluwé went into operation. It has developed into a significant icon painting and research centre. ✠

✠ *The Pentecostal movement*

In the years after the Second World War, the Pentecostal movement continued to shy away from registering as a religious community. A branch of the Friends of the Pentecostals who refused to establish local parishes continued to operate in Northern Finland, but most Pentecostals belonged to local parishes, led by elders elected by the parish meeting. At the

beginning of the 1990s, the largest of these, the Salem (*Saalem*) parish in Helsinki, had over 3,000 members.

The Pentecostal movement in Finland experienced a particularly strong period of growth from the 1960s to the 1980s. Among the most visible expressions of this surge in support were the meetings held by the charismatic preacher Niilo Ylivainio, a succession of pop stars and leading sportspersons joining the movement, a highly emotive communication style, and free-form music. To support the local parish structure, there was a network of associations engaged in a wide variety of activities. The publication of literature, print media, music cassettes and other material played a particularly important role. The main organ of the movement, 'Victory of the Cross' (*Ristin Voitto*), along with 'The Good Shepherd' (*Hyvä Paimen*) for children and the evangelising 'Good News' (*Hyvä Sanoma*) were professionally produced magazines, attracting a wide readership. The movement was among the first outside the established churches to broadcast on radio stations and TV channels. The preachers Kai Antturi and Valtter Luoto played a major part in driving the Pentecostals' publication and media activities, giving them a key role in defining the way forward for the movement. ✠

9

The churches at the start of the 21st century

Church membership numbers

At the start of the 21st century, Finland was still a relatively homogeneous country in terms of religion, but with growing signs of incipient changes. Membership numbers for the various denominations and communities followed the same trends as in other Nordic countries, but at a slower pace.

Table 4. The Finnish population by religious communities, in 2000 and 2015. Source: Statistics Finland.

	2000 Members	2015 Members
Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church	4,409,576	4,004,369
Orthodox Churches	56,807	61,690
Free churches	13,429	15,409
Jehovah's Witnesses	18,492	18,286
Adventist churches	4,316	3,459
Catholic Church in Finland	7,227	13,069
Finnish Pentecostal Church (Swedish and Finnish)	20	8,762
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints	3,307	3,259
Baptist communities	2,436	2,657
Methodist churches	1,260	1,415
Jewish congregations	1,157	1,133
Islam	1,201	13,289
Anglican churches	95	151
Other registered communities	780	3,278
Not members of any religious community	659,979	1,336,106
Total	5,181,115	5,487,308

Table 5. The Finnish population by religious communities, 2000–2015. Source: Statistics Finland.

Year	Lutherans %	Orthodox %	Other religious communities %	Not members of any registered religious community %
2000	85.1	1.1	1.1	12.7
2010	78.5	1.1	1.4	19.2
2015	73.0	1.1	1.6	24.3

In 2015 around 73% of the country's population still belonged to the Lutheran Church. Membership numbers had started to decrease, and specific events over the years were reflected more clearly than before in departures from the church, and also new members joining. The population of those not belonging to any religious community showed the highest increase, reaching approximately one-quarter of the population in 2015. Membership of the Orthodox Church was still growing from year to year, but only at the rate of overall demographic growth.

In Table 5, the proportion of those belonging to 'other' religious communities has increased to some degree during the 21st century to date, but within this group there are some very disparate trends, in different directions. Jehovah's Witnesses and the Finnish Free Church were the largest of the registered communities. The membership of the former, like the Mormons, remained much as before. In contrast, the Free Church was gaining new members. A similar trend was observed in the Catholic Church in Finland, with membership doubling over this period of one-and-a-half decades. Membership of the Seventh Day Adventists was falling.

At the start of the 21st century, the Pentecostal movement was still the largest free Christian community in Finland. In 2013 they had some 50,000 members and 241 parishes, most of which operated as associations. The movement's organisational structure was supplemented in 2002 with the establishment of a registered religious community, the Finnish Pentecostal Church (*Suomen Helluntaikirkko*), to enhance inter-parish cooperation and promote the Pentecostal movement within Finnish society and internationally. Approximately 8,800 of the movement's members belonged to the Finnish Pentecostal Church in 2015 (see Table 4).

Followers of Islam are the largest non-Christian movement in Finland, comprising various traditions and communities. According

to research data from 2011, there were around 50,000–60,000 Muslims living in Finland. Only a fraction of them belonged to registered communities, but the number of such communities has noticeably increased since 2002. In 2000 the registered communities had a total of around 1,200 members, as compared with more than 13,000 in 2015 (see Table 4).

It is a characteristic trait of the Finnish religious landscape that most of the world religions that have found their way to Continental Europe also have followers in Finland, if only in very small numbers. In 2011 there were six registered Buddhist communities, with a total of around 500 members. At that same date there were two registered Hindu communities. Rising numbers of refugees and asylum seekers are resulting in increasing religious diversity.

✠ Snapshot of attitudes toward religion in Finland

(source: Niemelä 2003, Häkkinen 2010)

Numerous statistical classification systems representing Finns' attitudes towards religion have been formulated in recent decades. One of the most interesting is a classification based on the World Values 2000 survey, in which the figures for Finland were compared with surveys carried out at the same time in continental Europe. One of the variables in the survey mapped the citizens' belief in God, i.e. the doctrinal dimension of religious faith. Two other variables were used to map religion from the perspective of rituals: attendance at church occasions characterised public religious practice, while praying was taken as an indicator of private religious practice. Niemelä structured the data into four different types of attitude towards religion: 1) active parishioners, 2) baseline parishioners, 3) passively positive, and 4) non-religious.

With regard to church membership, Seppo Häkkinen summarised his fellow-researcher's results as follows:

> 'Active parishioners' believe in God, attend church or other religious occasions at least once a month, and pray weekly. Fourteen percent of Finns fall into this category, which is very low by European standards. 'Baseline parishioners' are the norm among the church membership in Finland. They believe in God, attend religious occasions at least once a year, and pray from time to time, but do not practise their religion as regularly as the active parishioners. They represent 35% of Finns, which is significantly higher than the European average. Those in the 'passively positive' category have a positive attitude towards religious matters, but do not actually practise religion themselves. They attend religious occasions less than once a year, and pray at least sometimes. They either believe that God exists or are unsure. Together with 'baseline parishioners', they represent the typical Finnish attitude towards religion, with a percentage of 25%. This is on a par with all the Europeans in the survey. Those in the 'non-religious' group do not believe in God, and never attend religious occasions. Nine out of ten of them never pray at all. They make up 16% of the Finnish population, which is slightly below the European average.

According to these findings, at the turn of the century Finland had an exceptionally low proportion of active parishioners, but a high number of baseline parishioners. The highest ratios of active parishioners were in the Catholic cultural sphere – in Malta and Poland, for example. Baseline parishioners were most strongly represented in Orthodox and Protestant countries, particularly Greece, Romania and Belarus. The highest proportion for 'passively positive' was in Great Britain. The 'non-religious' population was highest in the countries of the former Eastern bloc. ✠

Changes of emphasis in legislation on religion and the church

Freedom of religion in the Constitution and Freedom of Religion Law

Over the decades some changes had been proposed to the wording of the Freedom of Religion Law, originally passed at the beginning of the 1920s. The principle of freedom of religion was laid down at the level of constitutional law in the Finnish Constitution of 1919. This provision was revisited in the major revision of the Constitution that came into force in 2000. The new legislation brought all constitutional provisions together into a single law. In the course of this process, the formulation of fundamental rights came under scrutiny, and freedom of religion emerged from the multiple rounds of debate and discussion in the following form:

> Every person enjoys freedom of religion and conscience. Freedom of religion and conscience includes the right to profess and practise religion, to express convictions, and to belong or not belong to a religious community. No person may be compelled to participate in a religious practice that is contrary to his or her conscience.

The basic content of the provision remained unchanged, but there were some changes in emphasis in terms of detail. The law as a whole now applied to all persons living in Finland, not just to Finnish citizens. The concept of freedom of conscience was now stated explicitly, as opposed to the indirect reference to this idea in the earlier Constitution. In line with the recent agreements on human rights, the law now mentioned

personal convictions and the right to express them. The special public-law status of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church and Orthodox Church was not changed by the new legislation. It had already been established in the preparatory phases of the constitutional revision that the links between church and state in their existing form did not constitute an impediment to freedom of religion for either individuals or minority religious communities.

However, it was clear that the Freedom of Religion Law itself was also due for some changes. With the passing years, both the Finnish free thinker movement and the Finnish Free Christian Council (an organisation bringing together the Finnish Adventist Church, the Pentecostal movement, the Finnish Methodist Church, the Salvation Army, and the Finnish Free Church) had begun to see the Freedom of Religion Law passed in 1922 as outmoded, both for citizens not belonging to any religious community and for religious communities and their members. The push for reform received support from a 'Church and state' committee set up in 1996, with members drawn from activist minorities and also the Finnish Lutheran, Orthodox and Catholic churches. While the debate on the constitutional legislation was still under way, the Cabinet set up a separate committee for amendments to the Freedom of Religion Law. It completed its deliberations in February 2001, and the amended Freedom of Religion Law came into force in 2003.

Like the constitutional provisions, the freedom of religion legislation as such retained its original structure, but with numerous adjustments on matters of detail. Under the new law, a religious community could decide for itself whether its members were also allowed to join other religious communities. According to the old law it was only possible to be a member of one community at any one time. This fundamental principle could now be discarded, since the responsibility for keeping

registers of the population had been transferred from the churches to the state. It was now possible to leave a community by providing written notification to this effect, rather than having to do so in person.

Under the old law, a child became a member of the community to which its mother belonged. According to the amended text, the child joined a community by a specific declaration of will by its parents or guardians. A mother could however act alone to enrol a child of less than one year of age in any religious community, if it had not yet belonged to one. A child of 12 years of age could be enrolled in, or withdrawn from, a community only with his or her consent in writing. From the age of 15, a young person could now join or leave a religious community with written consent from a parent or guardian. In practice, therefore, for young people between the ages of 12 and 17, the consent of both parents and child was now needed for them to join or leave a religious community. On reaching the age of 18, a young person could now make his or her own religious affiliation decisions.

Comprehensive and higher secondary school pupils were still entitled, and required, to attend religious instruction in their own denomination. A child not attending religious instruction according to the majority denomination could receive instruction in his or her own denomination, if there were at least three pupils wishing to do so. A comprehensive school pupil not belonging to any religious community now had the option of receiving religious instruction in a denomination of his or her choice, provided the parents agreed. A secondary school pupil not affiliated to any religious community could make his or her own decision on what form of religious instruction to attend.

The new Law still provided the possibility of official registration for religious communities, but unregistered communities could now act with the same authority as religious communities that had the capacity

to perform legal transactions. A person still had to be at least 20 years of age in order to establish a new religious community. The application now had to include a description of the community's organisational structure, which in practice corresponds to the rules of a registered society. The requirement for a statement of a religious creed and forms of religious practice was removed. Under the new Law, the operation of the community was to be based 'on a religious creed, texts held to be sacred, or other individualised set principles of practice held as sacred'.

The maintenance of cemeteries was a question generating widespread debate. Under the new Law, cemeteries of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church retained their status as public cemeteries. The operating rules now stated that burial fees were to be the same for church members and non-members. A section of church cemeteries was to be set aside for non-believers, in which places were to be available on request. The Cemeteries Law came into force at the beginning of 2007.

Increasing autonomy of the Lutheran Church

The process of undoing the bonds tying the church to executive government continued even after the adoption of the Church Law of 1994. Responsibility for funding the cathedral chapter was transferred from the state to the church in 1997, followed in 2000 by the right to appoint bishops. These implementation orders can be seen as the logical extension of the earlier amendments. The role of the executive and the President of the Republic as jointly responsible for the administration of the church was now a thing of the past.

However, the Lutheran and Orthodox churches were still state churches, and remained subject to some legal ties in terms of their status as public-law entities, and also the adoption of the Church Law, the right to collect taxes and to celebrate marriages, and legal provisions on

Irja Askola, Bishop of Helsinki.
Photo: Kirkon kuvapankki

religious instruction. This situation was the consequence of decisions made at the beginnings of Finnish autonomy and independence. These churches still had public-law status in what was now a non-denominational country, as expressed in their special position in legislation, in particular Article 76 of the Constitution and Chapter 2 of the Church Law. The Church Law and proposed amendments to it were still to be either accepted or rejected by Parliament, without change.

On the basis of its public-law status, the church has a historical right to levy church tax. At parish level, this has meant that local parishes and the church's own governance structures have traditionally enjoyed greater financial autonomy than their counterparts in Denmark and Norway, for example, where church employees are paid by the state or the local authority, and subordinate to the municipal administration in

the same way as local government bodies. The traditional partnership between church and state is still manifested in the legislation on religious instruction and in the Marriage Law, whereby the Lutheran and Orthodox Churches are entitled to celebrate marriages also as a civil legal act.

The roots of the corporation tax levied at the start of the 2000s lay in tax policies aimed at industrial enterprises after the mid-19th century. At that time, the purpose of the tax, payable to the parish, was to reduce the financial burdens placed on the workers and improve their standard of living. The municipalities were also recipients of tax revenue alongside the parishes, and their share of the total tax take gradually increased. In recent decades the allocation of tax revenue to the parishes has been based on a new argument, i.e. the parishes' duty to preserve and maintain cultural heritage buildings and cemeteries.

Governance and finances of the Orthodox Church

Some significant changes in the governance of the Orthodox Church in Finland were made at the start of the 21st century. An amended Orthodox Church Law came into force in 2007. The church's legal status vis-a-vis the state remained as before. The church still had the right to submit proposals for amendments to its Law and other legislation affecting it, and it was given the opportunity to make submissions whenever amendments to the Law were being adopted. The church is an archdiocese operating in the territory of the Republic of Finland, which is divided into three dioceses and the parishes within their respective territories. Also under the church are the monasteries of Valaam and Lintula. The church still has the right to collect church tax from its members, integrated with other taxation.

Under the amendments to the Law, the function of the appointment of bishops has been transferred to the church itself, in the same way as

for the Lutheran Church. Bishops are appointed by the Church Council on the basis of an election in the Church Assembly. The Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Ecumenical Patriarch also endorse the election of the archbishop under canon law. The Synod of Bishops endorses the election of other bishops. However, the state pays an annual grant to the church for central and diocese administration and specifically defined purposes.

Positive attitude towards ecumenicalism

In the period after the Second World War, the Finnish Lutheran Church had gone along only cautiously with efforts to promote inter-church unity. Nor was it in the vanguard of these efforts after the conflict, but a desire to break out of its narrowly national focus then led it to become actively involved in forging ecumenical and international links.

The World Council of Churches was founded in Amsterdam in 1948. Representatives of churches from 44 countries approved the council's programme and organisational structure. The World Council of Churches is a contact forum for its member churches. It does not require members to have any particular conception of what a church should be, and is not some kind of 'super-church' for its members. Over the decades its activities have focused on three main areas: creating spiritual unity; solidarity in Christ; and joint missionary work. Its members comprise Protestant, Orthodox and Old Catholic churches. The Roman Catholic Church did not join the World Council of Churches, but it was decided to maintain active contacts with the Vatican through a permanent work-

ing party. The Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople has been part of the World Council of Churches from the outset. The Finnish Orthodox Church joined as an ordinary member in 1983.

The collective body of the Lutheran Churches, the Lutheran World Federation, was established in Lund in 1947. Its member churches are those professing the Lutheran creed, and in some respects it operates in the same way as the World Council of Churches. It promotes cooperation between its member churches, theological research, and the participation of its member churches in ecumenicalism, and it also provides assistance to churches facing financial and spiritual difficulties. The Finnish Lutheran Church received such financial assistance for reconstruction after the Second World War. Once circumstances permitted, the Federation became involved in charitable work across national boundaries, in support of any sister churches in need or distress.

A third cooperation body of significant importance for the history of the church in Finland is the Conference of European Churches. It was formed in the 1950s, when the Protestant, Anglican and Orthodox Churches of Europe saw a need to form closer contacts between the churches in a Europe divided by the Cold War. Its aim remains the advancement of peace and human rights, and inter-church assistance. It has over one hundred member churches.

The Ecumenical Council of Finland (*Suomen ekumeeninen neuvosto*) was established in 1963 as an ecumenical contact body for the churches operating in Finland. Its roots go back to the branch of the World Alliance movement established in Finland in 1917, which in 1933 became the Finnish General Church Committee. The Ecumenical Council comprises 11 member churches, including the Lutheran, Orthodox, Catholic and Anglican churches, the Baptists, the Methodists, the Finnish Free Church and the Salvation Army.

The Finnish Lutheran Church hosted the fourth General Meeting of the Lutheran World Federation in Helsinki in 1963. Along with some eight hundred foreign delegates, the event was attended by large numbers of Finnish Lutheran parishioners. The bishop of the host city, Martti Simojoki, was elected Vice-President of the world body, and Professor Mikko Juva was elected Chairperson of the Theology Committee. At the next General Meeting in 1970, Juva was elected President.

Local parishes now started to develop an interest in organising ecumenical activities, including ecumenical prayer weeks and shared events attended by members of different church congregations. But ecumenicalism also had its opponents. The rising neo-pietism movement in particular feared that the ecumenical movement would go too far, and ultimately lead all the churches back to the 'great Babylon', the Roman Catholic Church. Finland's membership of the World Council of Churches was seen as dangerous from this perspective, since the WCC had close links with the Catholic Church, in spite of its not being a member of the international body. At the end of the 1960s, various statements and actions of the WCC, and particularly the assistance it offered left-wing liberation movements in the third world, drew widespread criticism, in Finland as elsewhere.

During the Cold War period, the iron curtain severed the longstanding bonds between the Lutheran Church in Finland and its counterparts in eastern Europe, but in the 1960s the situation eased somewhat. Efforts were made to reactivate links with the churches in Hungary and Estonia, which were operating in difficult circumstances, and with the birthplace of Lutheranism, now the German Democratic Republic. The doctrinal conversations with the Russian Orthodox Church initiated by the Finnish Lutheran Church in 1970 were another mark of the church's increasingly outward focus. Archbishop Simojoki led this project, but

Delegations of the Russian Orhodox Church and the Finnish Lutheran Church in Hollola in 2011.
Photo: Heikki Jääskeläinen

it was also strongly supported by academic theologians and his fellow bishops. Bishop Kalevi Toiviainen, as a scholar well versed in ecumenical issues, was the chief spokesman for the Finnish church in these doctrinal consultations. Improved doctrinal understanding was not the only positive outcome from the process, however; for the Russian church it also opened up better contacts with the West, while Simojoki's delegations were able to improve the situation of the Finnish-speaking Lutheran parishes in Petrozavodsk and Leningrad.

Ecumenical cooperation with the Russian Orthodox Church also continued after Simojoki's term as archbishop, although the Finnish Lutheran Church adopted a negative stance on cooperation with the reformed churches when the Synod voted against approving the Leuenberg Concordia. At around the end of the 20th century, the church was

Pope John Paul II and Archbishop John Vikström in Turku in 1989.
Photo: Lehtikuva / Ari Ojala

also involved in some successfully concluded ecumenical negotiations. Co-operation with the Catholic Church became an increasingly important element of ecumenical links from the 1980s. Pope John Paul II visited the Nordic countries in 1989, and Archbishop John Vikström received him in Turku Cathedral and at the episcopal residence. In 1998 the Finnish Lutheran General Synod had approved the joint declaration on justification by faith that the World Lutheran League and the Catholic Church had been working on over a period of many years.

The 'Porvoo agreement' was a document signed by twelve European Anglican and Lutheran Churches, following the conclusion of the critical negotiations in Järvenpää in 1992. All parties were in agreement on what they wanted to achieve, but at the last moment there were some significant difficulties to be resolved in the wording of the texts. John Vikström's

wide experience played an invaluable role. On the final day of the negotiations a communion service was held in Porvoo Cathedral, which is why the agreement and its outcome are now referred to as the 'Porvoo agreement' and the 'Porvoo inter-church partnership'. The central focus of the agreement is the creation of full Eucharistic unity between the signatory churches. Gradual progress is being made with its practical implementation, which is monitored by means of an annual joint summary document. Under the agreement, clergymen of the Lutheran Church are also able to conduct Anglican services in Finland. Accordingly, a practice has been formulated whereby the pastors of Lutheran Churches of the Nordic countries can take part in conducting Anglican church services in the Anglican churches that are members of the agreement.

Since the 1990s, the Finnish Lutheran Church has been conducting bilateral doctrinal dialogues with representatives of the Orthodox Church and major Protestant communities in Finland. There has been a significant increase in such domestic ecumenical initiatives, complementing the activities of the Finnish Ecumenical Council.

✠ *University theology and centres of excellence*

The facilities available for academic theology in Finland remained the same from the war years through to the 1960s. Finland had two faculties of theology – the Finnish-speaking faculty at the University of Helsinki, and its Swedish-speaking counterpart at the Academy of Turku. No new university teaching positions were created, so the faculties focused on their teaching roles, as before. There were relatively few students wishing to undertake postgraduate studies. Research activity gained fresh momentum from the 1960s, with the creation of Licentiate (master's)

degree seminars for postgraduate study as part of the study programme in a range of disciplines.

The Finnish state began to invest in new universities from the 1960s. Significant new resources were made available to the tertiary education sector, which however had to be shared between numerous institutions. The Helsinki Faculty of Theology was one of Europe's largest in terms of student numbers, and as it grew, it was allocated more teaching and research resources. A new Finnish-language faculty of theology was set up at Joensuu. Orthodox theology education started at the University of Eastern Finland in 1984, followed soon after by the establishment of a Faculty of Theology, which offered study programmes in Western and Orthodox theology. Teaching based on academic research was the cornerstone of study programmes in theology. They therefore had little difficulty in adjusting to the programme started on the basis of the Bologna declaration at the beginning of the 2000 decade, along with other Finnish university examinations. In 2015 there were 1815 students studying in the degree programme at the Faculty of Theology of the University of Helsinki. A total of 173 students graduated with Master's degrees, and 15 with doctorates of theology.

Finnish theological research successfully adapted to the project-based structure implemented for high-calibre humanities research around the end of the 20th century. Accordingly, it was ready to compete with all other academic disciplines in the mid-1990s, when the Finnish Academy began to fund 'centres of excellence' projects on the basis of international comparisons. From 1995 to 2005, the professor of exegetics Heikki Räisänen, as an internationally renowned specialist on the apostle Paul, led a centre of excellence project focusing on the formation of early Jewish and Christian ideology. Professor Simo Knuuttila, an expert on the history of philosophy, led a research unit on

the 'history of mind' in 2002–2007, and a research centre of excellence on philosophical psychology, morality and politics in 2008–2013. ✠

Missions and international charitable work

The Finnish Missionary Society and the Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland, with their Swedish-language parallel bodies, were the original pioneers of Finnish missionary work at the beginning of the 1960s. For the Finnish Missionary Society, the main focus was traditionally on Africa, particularly Ovamboland in South-West Africa and Tanzania in East Africa. Along with the spiritual aspect of mission work, there was a strong emphasis on assistance with schools and hospitals. For the Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland, the main focus was for a long time on Japan. From the 1960s, however, there were some major changes in many aspects of Finnish missionary work, both at home, and more particularly abroad.

While Finnish missionary activities remained mainly association-based, along with the traditional missionary organisations there were now many new organisations becoming involved, particularly as the neo-pietist revivalist movement began to place its activities on a firm organisational footing. As the number of missionary organisations of the Lutheran Church increased, it was decided to establish a cooperative body, the Church Missionary Work Centre (*Kirkon lähetystyön keskus*), which today operates to coordinate the activities of parishes and missionary organisations. Under its leadership, a consistent strategy has been pursued since the decades at the end of the 20th century, for mis-

sionary work as a shared endeavour for the Finnish Lutheran Church. Under this strategy, the role of the parishes is mainly to resource missionary activities, whereas the missionary organisations continue to be mainly responsible for carrying them out.

It was not just within the ambit of the Finnish Lutheran Church that new organisations were being formed, since from the 1970s, the Finnish Orthodox Church started to partner with the Patriarchate of Alexandria and the Greek church in their missionary work in Kenya and Uganda.

The origins of the missionary activities of the Finnish Pentecostal movement go back to the 1930s, but from the 1970s in particular there was a significant increase in the level of its involvement. The numbers of missionaries being sent abroad by the Finnish Free Foreign Mission (*Suomen Vapaa Ulkolähetys*) now rose to exceed those of the Finnish Missionary Society, although it was focused mainly on evangelical missionary work. In the 1970s the Missionary Development Aid (*Lähetyksen Kehitysapu*) organisation was set up as a parallel structure for channelling development aid. The Finnish Free Church (*Suomen Vapaakirkko*) has also set up a missionary programme, numbering some tens of missionaries.

The Finnish Missionary Council (*Suomen lähetysneuvosto*) has operated as a collaborative body of Finnish missionary organisations since 1919. As of the mid-2010s it has around 30 members from the various churches.

New interpretations of missionary theology

At the same time as the number of Finnish missionary organisations was growing, big changes were happening in missionary work on the global scale. Vatican II led the dialogue on a new kind of missionary theology,

focussing on how the church should treat the indigenous cultures it was working within, and other religious beliefs. The dialogue started by the Vatican Council was continued in the forums of the World Council of Churches and the World Lutheran League. Attitudes towards missionary work and practices were redefined; the aim was now to communicate the message to different cultures and societies in a way that took local conditions into account. The importance of context and respect for the conditions in the country where missionary work was being carried out opened up new perspectives for Western Christianity. The traditional 'one and only' interpretation of the Christian faith was increasingly called into question, and a new interest emerged in how God expresses Himself in non-Christian faiths.

Whereas the older Finnish missionary societies based their work on the missionary theological dialogue marked out by the World Council of Churches, the neo-pietist and free church organisations looked elsewhere for international support. In July 1974 a meeting was held in Switzerland, at Lausanne, at which churches and religious associations from 150 countries were represented. The 'Lausanne declaration' marked the start of a movement bringing together the leaders, representatives and missionary theologians of primarily evangelism-based missionary organisations. Behind the movement was the evangelist Billy Graham's vision of 'bringing all evangelists together in the common task of evangelising the entire world'. At Lausanne the parties agreed that spreading the gospel and addressing social issues both formed part of the church's missionary activity. However, the missionary organisations of different churches each put their own interpretation on the respective emphasis to be given to these tasks.

Missionary work and development aid

The various missionary theologies also gained a sounding board from a rapidly globalising world. Electronic media brought distant cultures closer than ever before, and the growth in air travel made it easily possible to travel from one part of the world to another. Cooperation was easier to organise than previously, and new destinations were opened up.

Statistics show that the years from the 1970s to the 1990s were a period of significant growth in Finnish missionary activities. New destinations opened up, particularly in Asia and Africa, but one of the consequences of the new missionary theology ideas was that locations for missionary work were now also identified in Europe to a greater extent than before. The table below places the number of missionary workers of official missionary organisations of the Finnish Lutheran Church, by country, in 2000, during an upward trend, alongside the figures for the mid-2010s, when Finnish missionary activity was in a declining phase (Table 6). Figur 1 shows the trend in the total number of all Finnish missionary workers. The content of missionary work became more specialised and differentiated, and missionaries operated more strictly in accordance with the expectations expressed by their partner churches. There was an increasing requirement for support in the form of material assistance, and the same plentiful numbers of enthusiastic missionaries as in the 1990s were no longer coming forward.

All organisations do not necessarily conduct their activities in strictly the same way. The activities of Finnish missionary societies had traditionally been based on voluntary work and support at home. But in 1960s two major changes were seen in the support provided for missionary work. Once the amended Church Law passed in 1964 allowed Lutheran parishes to use their tax revenue to support missionary work, it became possible to conclude agreements whereby a parish would

support one or more named missionaries, in a combination of remunerated and voluntary work.

The second major development providing a financial boost to missionary work came into effect from the 1970s. The Finnish state had signed a number of international agreements for increased participation in development assistance programmes. Under Foreign Minister Ahti Karjalainen it was decided to involve partner organisations in the delivery of this aid. Several missionary societies had already engaged in educational and social work and caring for the sick, and accordingly were now eligible as such partner organisations. Development resources were allocated to organisations on a project basis, and were not to be used for religious proselytising.

Fig. 1. Numbers of missionaries in Finnish missionary organisations

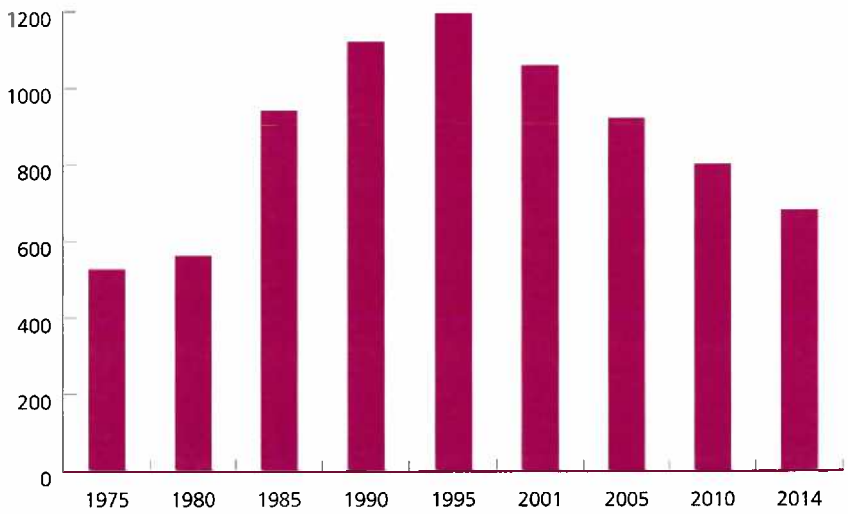


TABLE 6. Numbers of missionaries of official Lutheran Church missionary organisations in 2003 and 2015, by continent.

Countries, by continent	1999	2015
Bangladesh	11	2
China	–	1
Hong Kong	11	8
Israel	19	10
Japan	35	19
Laos	–	2
Mongolia	14	1
Nepal	9	8
Russia	–	5
Singapore	–	2
Taiwan	12	9
Thailand	14	9
Other	18	36
ASIA, TOTAL	**181**	**117**
Angola	14	5
Botswana	14	3
Cameroon	9	-
Ethiopia	43	24
Kenya	25	16
Namibia	8	8
Senegal	26	7
Sudan	–	2
Tanzania	23	17
Zambia	3	4
Other	–	2
AFRICA, TOTAL	**165**	**88**
Austria	1	–
Croatia	4	3
Cyprus	–	2
England	2	2
Estonia	5	11
France	7	4
Germany	8	2
Russia	44	9
EUROPE, TOTAL	**72**	**33**
Venezuela	13	–
LARIN AMERICA, TOTAL	**13**	**–**
Papua-New Guinea	14	3
OCEANIA, TOTAL	**14**	**3**
ABROAD, TOTAL	**241**	
ON HOME LEAVE	**–**	**96**
MISSIONARIES, TOTAL	**445**	**354**

Charitable and voluntary work.
Photo: Lähetysseura

International charitable work

The Finn Church Aid (*Kirkon Ulkomaanapu*) organisation was established in 1947 as the international charitable work body of the Finnish Lutheran Church and its parishes. Initially its role in the post-war situation was to channel the resources sent from abroad as assistance for the Finns. When these problems eased, the direction of the flow of resources was reversed, so that funds raised in Finland were sent abroad to help those in distress beyond Finnish borders. In 1955 Finn Church Aid became an independent foundation, whose relationship with the church was manifested mainly in the fact that its Board was appointed by the Lutheran Church's Foreign Affairs Council.

Finn Church Aid is one of Finland's largest providers of development aid and disaster assistance, and forms part of the international ACT umbrella organisation of church aid organisations established in 2010. It assists wherever the need is greatest, so aid recipient locations tend to change annually. Over the years they have included crisis zones in Africa, Asia and the Middle East, and Latin America. Since the 1990s, the main sources of resources for the Foreign Aid organisation have been development funding granted by the Finnish state and the European Union, Finnish individual and corporate donations, financial support from Finnish local parishes and a significant share of the Lutheran Church's proceeds from its Common Responsibility Campaign (*Yhteisvastuukeräys*).

Lists of bishops

Turku Diocese (1817 Archdiocese)

1. Henricus	
2. Rodolphus	
3. Folquinus	
4. Thomas	c. 1225–1245
5. Bero	1248–1258
6. Ragvaldus	1258–1266
7. Catillus	1266–1286
8. Johannes	1286–1290
9. Magnus	1291–1308
10. Ragvaldus	1309–1321
11. Benedictus	1321–1328
12. Hemmingus	1338–1366
13. Henricus Hartmanni	1366–1367
14. Johannes Petri	1367–1370
15. Johannes Westfal	1370–1385
16. Bero Balk	1385–1412
17. Magnus Olai	1412–1450
18. Olaus Magni	1450–1460
19. Conrad Bitz	1460–1489
20. Magnus Nicolai de Särkilax	1489–1500
21. Laurentius Michaelis Suurpää	1500–1506
22. Johannes Olavi	1506–1510
23. Arvidus Kurck	1510–1522
Ericus Svenonis, electus	1523–1527
24. Martinus Skytte	1528–1550
25. Michael Agricola	1554–1557
26. Petrus Follingius	1558–1563

27. Paulus Juusten	1563–1575
28. Ericus Erici Sorolainen	1583–1625
29. Isaacus Rothovius	1627–1652
30. Eskil Petraeus	1652–1658
31. Johannes Terserus	1658–1664
32. Johannes Gezelius the elder	1664–1690
33. Johannes Gezelius the younger	1690–1718
34. Herman Witte	1721–1728
35. Laurentius Tammelin	1728–1733
36. Jonas Fahlenius	1734–1748
37. Johannes Browallius	1748–1755
38. Carl Fredrik Menander	1757–1775
39. Jacob Haartman	1776–1788
40. Jacob Gadolin	1788–1802
41. Jacob Tengström	1803–1832
42. Erik Gabriel Melartin	1833–1847
43. Edvard Bergenheim	1850–1884
44. Torsten Thure Renvall	1884–1898
45. Gustaf Johansson	1899–1930
46. Lauri Ingman	1930–1934
47. Erkki Kaila	1935–1944
48. Aleksi Lehtonen	1945–1951
49. Ilmari Salomies	1951–1964
50. Martti Simojoki	1964–1978
51. Mikko Juva	1978–1982
52. John Vikström	1982–1998
53. Jukka Paarma	1998–2010
54. Kari Mäkinen	2010–

Bishops of Turku

1. Ilkka Kantola	1998–2005
2. Kari Mäkinen	2005–2010
3. Kaarlo Kalliala	2010–

Vyborg–Porvoo–Tampere Diocese

1. Paulus Juusten	1554–1563
2. Canutus Johannis	1563–1564
3. Erik Härkäpää	1568–1578
4. Olaus Elimaeus	1618–1629
5. Nicolaus Magni Carelius	1630–1632
6. Gabriel Melartopaeus	1633–1641
7. Petrus Bjugg	1642–1656
8. Nicolaus Nycopensis	1658–1664
9. Petrus Brommius	1664–1672
10. Abraham Thauvonius	1672–1679
11. Henrik Carstenius	1679–1681
12. Petrus Bång	1681–1696
13. Petrus Laurbecchius	1696–1705
14. David Lund	1705–1711
15. Johannes Gezelius nepos	1721–1733
16. Daniel Juslenius	1734–1743
17. Johan Nylander	1745–1761
18. Gabriel Fortelius	1762–1789
19. Paul Krogius	1789–1792
20. Zacharias Cygnaeus the elder	1792–1809
21. Magnus Jacob Alopaeus	1809–1818
22. Zacharias Cygnaeus the yonger	1819–1820
23. Johan Molander	1821–1837
24. Carl Gustaf Ottelin	1838–1864
25. Frans Ludvig Schauman	1865–1878
26. Anders Johan Hornborg	1878–1883
Johan Viktor Johnsson(electus)	1884
27. Carl Henrik Alopaeus	1885–1892
28. Herman Råbergh	1892–1920
29. Jaakko Gummerus	1920–1933
30. Aleksi Lehtonen	1934–1945
31. Eelis Gulin	1945–1966
32. Erkki Kansanaho	1966–1981
33. Paavo Kortekangas	1981–1996
34. Juha Pihkala	1997–2008
35. Matti Repo	2008–

Kuopio–Oulu Diocese

1. Robert Valentin Frosterus	1851–1884
2. Gustaf Johansson	1885–1896
3. Otto Immanuel Colliander	1897–1899
4. Juho Rudolf Koskimies	1900–1936
5. Juho Abraham Mannermaa	1936–1943
6. Yrjö Aukusti Wallinmaa	1943
7. Väinö Malmivaara	1943–1954
8. Olavi Heliövaara	1954–1963
9. Pekka (Pietari) Tapaninen	1963–1965
10. Hannes (Johannes) Leinonen	1965–1979
11. Olavi Rimpiläinen	1980–2000
12. Samuel Salmi	2000–

Savonlinna–Vyborg–Mikkeli Diocese

1. Gustaf Johansson	1897–1899
2. Otto Immanuel Colliander	1899–1924
3. Erkki Kaila	1925–1935
4. Yrjö Loimaranta	1935–1942
5. Ilmari Salomies	1943–1951
6. Martti Simojoki	1951–1959
7. Osmo Alaja	1959–1978
8. Kalevi Toiviainen	1978–1992
9. Voitto Huotari	1993–2009
10. Seppo Häkkinen	2009–

Borgå Diocese

1. Max von Bonsdorff	1923–1954
2. Gerog Olof Rosenqvist	1954–1961
3. Karl-Erik Forsell	1961–1970
4. John Vikström	1970–1982
5. Erik Vikström	1983–2006
6. Gustav Björkstrand	2006–2009
7. Björn Vikström	2009–

Kuopio Diocese

1. Eino Sormunen	1939–1961
2. Olavi Kares	1962–1974
3. Paavo Kortekangas	1975–1981
4. Jukka (Juhani) Malmivaara	1981–1984
5. Matti Sihvonen	1984–1996
6. Wille (Vilho) Riekkinen	1996–2012
7. Jari Jolkkonen	2012–

Lapua Diocese

1. Eero Lehtinen	1956–1974
2. Yrjö Sariola	1974–1995
3. Jorma Laulaja	1995–2004
4. Simo Peura	2004–

Helsinki Diocese

1. Martti Simojoki	1959–1964
2. Aarre Lauha	1964–1972
3. Aimo T. Nikolainen	1972–1982
4. Samuel Lehtonen	1982–1992
5. Eero Huovinen	1992–2011
6. Irja Askola	2011–

Espoo Diocese

1. Mikko Heikka	2004–2012
2. Tapio Luoma	2012–

Field bishops

1. Johannes Björklund	1941–1965
2. Toivo Laitinen	1965–1968
3. Yrjö Massa	1969–1978
4. Viljo Remes	1978–1986
5. Jorma Laulaja	1986–1995
6. Hannu Niskanen	1995–2012
7. Pekka Särkiö	2012–

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A History of the Finnish Church is the first general survey in English of the history of the Finnish church. It is based on recent research, but written in a clear and accessible style. It presents a continuous narrative of the church in Finland, from the arrival of Christianity to the present day.

While the church in Finland developed essentially along the same lines as in other Nordic countries, there are some unique aspects deriving from Finland's location between East and West. Some distinctively Finnish responses to processes of modernisation and secularisation have left their mark on Finnish culture and society.

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